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THE AMASIS PAINTER

IN *JHS* lxxviii (1948), p. 148, Mr. R. M. Cook drew attention to a problem concerning the name of the potter or painter Amasis and the chronology of Attic black-figure vase painting. So far as I know it has remained unanswered and discreetly ignored. Mme. Karouzou's fine study of the Amasis Painter¹ prompts a further discussion of the problem which seems a very real one. It may be briefly restated as follows. Amasis, potter or painter, was named after the philhellene Egyptian king Amasis (A-ahmes) whose reign began in 569–568 B.C. As a citizen of Athens he would have received his name at his birth, which cannot therefore be earlier than 569–568. Cook thought it could hardly be before 565, and certainly the nationalist A-ahmes would not have made much of a mark as a philhellene early in his reign, as he had to seize the throne from Apries who was supported by Greek mercenaries. Yet by the current chronology of Attic black-figure the Amasis Painter had begun to work by about 555.² If the signature *Αμασιςπεποιηκεν* means that Amasis was the potter, not the painter, we have to face the fact that his work too may go back at least as early because he made vases for the painter Lydos.³ If it means that he was the pottery-owner, the terminus is given by the earliest vase bearing his signature, and this is still around 550. The last explanation is the least satisfactory both for the interpretation of the signature and for the fact that it is easier to believe in a child artist than in a child industrialist. Unless Amasis was a prodigy, something is wrong somewhere in the argument. The fault must lie either in the accepted chronology for Attic black-figure or in the arguments about the name Amasis.

Fixed points for the dating of Attic black-figure are few and dates are often too readily assigned without explanations. The late seventh century gives dates for Corinthian pottery at Selinus and Old Smyrna, which, at one remove, reflect the dating of Attic vases. In the late sixth and early fifth century some *kalos* names and Persian sacks and invasions provide others. The figures on the Siphnian Treasury can be dated to within a year or two (c. 525) and have ready parallels on vases.⁴ The known date of the reorganisation of the Panathenaea (566)⁵ could be of use if we could be certain that of the very few early Panathenaic vases preserved we have one of the earliest. The fact that when these vases can be dated to the year (in the fourth century) none of them is actually credited to a Panathenaic year is a difficulty we need not dwell upon. Over all a nexus of tomb groups and stylistic considerations have given a fairly well-knit, though elastic, chronology for the sixth century, and one would be loath to abandon it or alter it radically, though there is still much left to be desired, and a reasoned explanation of it is urgently needed to dispel disillusion.

The alternative escape from the dilemma is to assume that Amasis was not in fact named after King A-ahmes, and that the date of his birth is not then dependent on the Egyptian king's accession. If our Amasis were Athenian-born the only explanation for his name could be that the Egyptian A-ahmes was already known and liked. Dissolve the connexion, and Amasis must have been born elsewhere and lived and worked in Athens as an immigrant metec. He must then have been born in Egypt and named there. A-ahmes was a common enough Egyptian name which had already been carried by one Pharaoh as well as many

¹ S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter* (1956).

² *Ibid.*, 25, 'shortly after 560'. Professor Beazley tells me that he is prepared to believe that no vase by the Amasis Painter is earlier than 550.

³ See now Beazley, *Development* 57, *ABV* 109 Lydos, Nos. 24, 29.

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⁴ On this see also R. M. Cook, *CVA* British Museum viii, 60. The figures on the Ephesos column bases cannot be dated closely simply from Herodotus' remark that many columns were dedicated by Croesus; see Lippold, *Griechische Plastik*, 60.

⁵ See below, pp. 26–29 (Ed.).

private persons.⁵ A Greek child born in Egypt could readily be given the name in its Egyptian or Greek form; his mother was perhaps herself Egyptian. No connexion with King A-ahmes is necessary; at the time when our Amasis was probably born A-ahmes was still an army officer, not even a royal prince.

The young Amasis might then have grown up in Egypt, most likely at Naukratis, the major Greek trading town. There he would have had ample opportunity to see the very best examples of the potter's craft from all the main centres of mainland Greece and Ionia—a variety almost unrivalled in any other town in the Greek world. There were even Ionian Greek potters at work in Naukratis at the time. The experience of, and possibly even training in, potting or painting which Amasis brought with him to Athens would have been both varied and of the highest technical and artistic order. I find it not difficult to believe that this was the nursery of the Amasis we know from the vases.

The potting of the Amasis Painter's vases is as distinctive as the painting. The concurrence of the two phenomena might well suggest that potter and painter were one man, particularly as the distinctive elements in each craft seem to share a common spirit.⁶ Bluntly to declare this spirit Ionian and outside the Attic tradition is going too far, but these distinctive elements do seem to reflect something of the decorative and formal instincts of the eastern Greeks. Ionian touches in the painting have long been recognised. Mme. Karouzou has declared against them, and they are indeed for the most part illusory. Outline drawing, for example, had never quite been forgotten in Attica, and its appearance in the Amasis Painter's work might as well be a hint of the red-figure to come, as Mme. Karouzou has observed. Fringed garments too are already met on the Heidelberg Painter's vases and, such seem the connexions between the two painters, the Amasis Painter could well have learned them from him. Certainly they are characteristic of Chian black-figure, but there they appear only on komasts' shawls and never on the himatia of fully clothed figures, which should provide the true parallels and inspiration. The cups held by revellers on two vases⁷ certainly look superficially like Chian chalices, but they are much more like kantharoi with kylix handles. Sophilos had already borrowed the chalice shape for Attic and adapted it in an Attic manner,⁸ for by his day the Chian chalices all had straight-sided conical feet and not shallow splaying ones. The Amasis Painter's vases show that the shape had not been forgotten. On the other hand his four-winged Medusa and silen types do seem Ionian-inspired.

In the potting 'he has his own idea of shape, and goes his own way, keeping apart from the majority' (Beazley). Langlotz has pointed out that the foot of the Amasis Painter's amphora in Würzburg is best paralleled in vases of the Northampton Group,⁹ an Ionian ware; but the fact that he was an individualist in this respect too is more important than attempts to localise the sources of his innovations. I am inclined to believe that the potter and painter are one, though for the view that Amasis was potter only can be adduced the probability that he started and ended his career in the Kerameikos potting for other painters—for Lydos and for a red-figure artist.¹⁰ The final possibility, which has little to recommend

⁵ Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, i. 12, No. 19. D. von Bothmer, in *Gnomon* xxix. 540, expresses doubts whether the Greek form of the name, Amasis, was current in the sixth century, which should be dispelled by the Abu-Simbel inscriptions (*REG* lxx. 3 ff.).

⁶ Cf. Züchner, *Festschrift Schweitzer*, 108.

⁷ On the cup Vatican 369a (A. D. Ure, *JHS* xlii. 193, fig. 1 and 196 f.; Karouzou, pl. 39.1), and the oinochoe Agora P24673 (*Hesp.* xxv. pl. 26; Karouzou, 41, ii).

⁸ *AM* lxii. pl. 29.2 (Beazley, *ABV* 39, No. 11). The 'chalice' by the Anagyrus Painter in the Vlasto

Collection (*ibid.*, 21, No. 2; *Hesp.* xiii. pl. 4) is more like a lekane with a high rim, or a descendant of the geometric bowls or *Steilrandschale* like *Kerameikos* v. 1, pll. 118-21 (cf. the footed examples pll. 121-7). Other 'chalice' fragments mentioned by Beazley, *ABV* 22 and 107, are from vases of the same type, and not like Sophilos' chalice which is unique. I am indebted to Mrs. C. W. J. Eliot for notes on these fragments.

⁹ *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 51.

¹⁰ Beazley, *ABV* 109 Lydos, Nos. 24, 29; 158 (cf. Karouzou, *op. cit.*, 38).

it, is that Amasis was master or owner of the pottery, not an artist. If so, all he brought with him from Egypt was that flair for business which metics, in the ancient world as today, seem to enjoy; and we may still speculate on the training of the companions who may have accompanied him on his new venture.

It is somehow difficult to credit that the vase-painter Exekias had a sense of humour, but when he gives the name Amasis to Africans on two of his vases¹¹ he must surely have had as much in mind his swart rival in Athens as the king of Egypt.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

¹¹ Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 23b ('Amasos'), 26a; cf. Dugas in *Mélanges Glotz*, i. 235 ff.

A GREEK VASE FROM EGYPT

(PLATES I-II)

APART from the important Greek trading-town at Naukratis and the shorter-lived settlement at Tell Defenneh (Daphnai) there is little to show in Egypt for the early years of renewed relations between Greece and the kingdom of the Nile valley. Yet already in the eighth century B.C. a few Egyptian objects were reaching Greek lands; in the seventh Egyptians were employing Ionian Greek mercenaries and apparently themselves influencing Greece's first steps in monumental sculpture. Only slight finds of Greek pottery earlier than 500 B.C. have been made on Egyptian sites other than the two named above, notably at Memphis and at Egyptian Thebes, comprising the sanctuaries of Luxor and Karnak as well as the Theban Necropolis.¹ The last-named complex was well known to the Greeks as Thebes of the Hundred Gates, mentioned in the *Iliad* (ix. 381-4). It is thence that the vase which forms the subject of this paper is said to come. The few fragments which are all that is preserved from it are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1924. 264: Plate I), the gift of Professor Sayce, having been bought by him in Luxor and said to have been found in Karnak.² They have already been published by Miss E. R. Price in *CVA* Oxford ii. IId pl. 10 (401), 24, and associated with the Clazomenian class of Ionian black-figured vases. They seem to merit further attention because the scene figured on one side of the vase has not hitherto been identified, and because its identification may in turn throw a little light on the Greeks who lived in the heart of the Egyptian kingdom. Stylistically the vase can be dated to the decade 550-540 B.C.

The fragments are from the upper part of the body of a neck-amphora decorated on either side of the shoulder with a figured scene in a panel, and with a lotus and bud frieze encircling the widest part of the vase. It was a large vase, 34 cm. at its widest diameter and probably some 55 cm. high. The reasons for my restoration of its shape in fig. 1 will appear below.

The scene on one side of the vase is readily reconstructed. It is preserved on fragments *a* and *b* (Plate I). The field is largely filled by a vine with regular rows of spiky leaves and bunches of grapes. At the left a boy in a loincloth stands on a branch of the vine and raises his hand to catch a giant locust which has settled on one of the leaves. Tethered to the vine at the boy's feet stands his dog with its head turned back towards its master and the forepart of its body raised, like that of its companion in the other corner of the panel. The latter is a fine and colourful beast, rearing on its hind legs and baring sharp white teeth (on fragment *b*). Its quarry is apparently another enemy of the vine, a bird, whose eye and beak only are preserved at the bottom right extremity of fragment *a*. The relative position of the fragments is shown on the restored drawing in fig. 1.

It is the other side of the vase which has presented the problem. Fragments *e* and *f* have the lower part of four men walking to the right. Those on *f* are on an appreciably larger scale than those on *e*. Nevertheless, Miss Price assigned them both to a single and separate frieze running around the vase below the main panels. Study of the position of these fragments on the vase and comparison with the panel on the other side show this to

¹ Cf. C. Clairmont, *Berytus* xi (1955), 138 f.; our vase is his A.81, p. 107 (its number misquoted). Many pieces which he cites probably reached Egypt in comparatively recent times.

² In the Museum register is the note that a search was made later for more fragments, but without success. The sherds were packed in Cairo and some

were either lost or stolen by the packers. It remains possible then that more of this vase exists outside Egypt. With the fragments, and with the same history, came a fragment from the rim of an Attic column-crater with linked buds and ivy frieze (Oxford, 1924. 265) which may be added to Clairmont's list (see last note).

be impossible, though they do share the same ground line.³ On *e* enough is preserved to show that the men are carrying something solid with a flat base.

Fragment *e*, from the top right-hand corner of the panel, has a satyr wearing a loincloth and holding a giant phallos. Before him is an upright object, and behind him, barely visible in the photograph, the hands and double flutes of a musician. Finally, fragment *d*



FIG. 1

has the ears, bristles, muzzle and tusk of a boar before which dances an homunculus, again in a loincloth, and holding two phalloi, one inverted. Miss Price declined to attempt a reconstruction of the whole scene; the boar suggested to Mr. Cook 'perhaps a travesty of the Calydonian hunt'.

The men on *e* and *f* are apparently carrying a long bulky object. The only thing of adequate size represented on the other fragments is the boar. *Caput apri defero*. But this is no ordinary animal. The bristles which run back behind the ear turn upwards just at the edge of the sherd, and when the panel edges of fragments *e* and *d* are aligned the 'object' before the satyr is seen to continue the line of this excrescence. The boar becomes a boat, its prow stylised as an animal's head in the Greek fashion, and the object before the satyr is the boat's fore-mast or post. It must be the boat that the men are carrying, and this in turn explains the different scales of the porters on fragments *e* and *f*. The underside of the stern of a Greek boat curves up high above the line of the keel; this we know from other representations on vases. To be carried on the level rather taller men would therefore be required at the stern to give a reasonable balance to the scene and preserve the right outline for the boat itself. The fragments are accordingly disposed in the drawing in fig. 2, to which has been added what seems to be a reasonable minimum in restoration of the whole scene.⁴

The carriage of a ship in this manner can hardly be considered a commonplace, but the attendant figures in the scene, as well as literary and representational evidence from other

³ Cf. R. M. Cook, *BSA* xlvii (1952), 139 n. 69.

⁴ Figs. 1 and 2 were prepared by Mrs. M. E. Cox.

parts of the Greek world, give an explanation. The satyr on ϵ rather implies Dionysos, and the carrying of phalloi is in keeping with a procession honouring that god. The vineyard scene on the other side of the vase strengthens the connexion with the god of wine. In

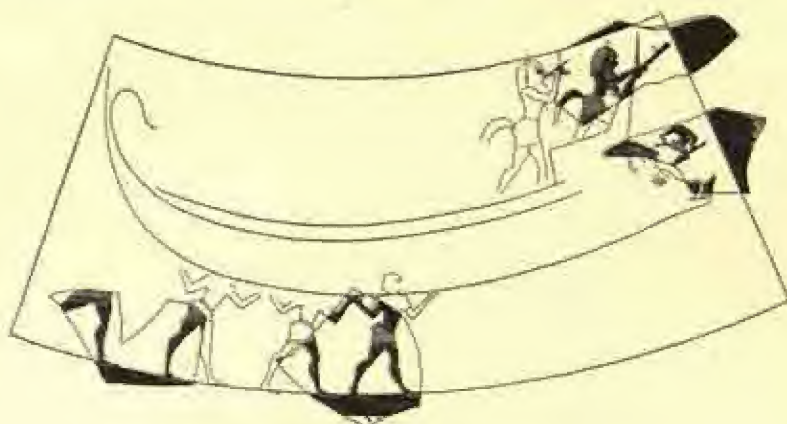


FIG. 2

Attica there were two processions in honour of Dionysos which bear upon the scene on our vase.

On three late sixth-century Attic vases appears the representation of a procession whose centre-piece or 'float' is a boat on wheels carrying the figures of Dionysos and two satyrs playing flutes. A drawing of one of these vases, in London (B79), is reproduced here in fig. 3.



FIG. 3

Flautist, satyr and boat we have on our vase, only the manner of transport differs. The Attic scenes are plausibly referred to the second day of the great spring festival in Athens, the Anthesteria.³ Dionysos arrives in a boat for his marriage with Basilinna, and the voyage and ceremony are enacted by men dressed as the god and his attendants who are pulled through the streets in a wheeled boat. There are other representations of Dionysos

³ Full discussion and references in L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 102 ff., and M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*,² i. 572, 582 f. The vases are all figured in *Jdl* xxvii (1912), Beil. 1, and see Deubner, pl. 11.1; 14.2; Nilsson, pl. 36.1; and *CVA* Bologna ii. pl. 342.

in a boat, notably on Exekias' cup in Munich,⁶ and on an amphora in Corneto,⁷ where the god is accompanied by satyrs and maenads with a satyr playing the cithara. The god and satyrs in the Athenian procession are human actors, and this explains the loincloth worn by our satyr; it is to keep his tail on. Clothes and satyrs go but rarely together and it can generally be demonstrated, where they do, that the satyrs are human actors and not the Dionysiac spirits. This is certainly true of the figures on later Attic vases with scenes from satyr-plays where bathing trunks serve as foundation garments for the appropriate appendages fore and aft.⁸ The figure on the Oxford vase, being a human minister of Dionysos, dressed as a satyr and dancing for the god, is the predecessor of the satyr-play actors who honoured the same god.

The other relevant Attic procession is a rural one, and in it another element in our scene is emphasised—the phallic. The festival was the *Dionysia ἐν ἀγροῖς* and our main evidence for the procession are the representations on either side of an Attic cup in Florence, and a passage in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (247 ff.) describing Dikaiopolis' procession with his daughter leading as kanephoros, slaves holding the phallos erect, and himself singing τὸ φαλλικόν. The cup, one side of which appears here in fig. 4,⁹ shows a group of men carrying a long object on which is mounted a gigantic phallos grasped by a satyr, or, on the other side of the vase, by a man. The mount for the phallos has been variously explained as a plough, a boat or the branch of a tree. It seems rather a simple platform with phalloid extremities, but might certainly be interpreted as a boat.¹⁰

Boats and phalloi for Dionysiac processions are thus well attested for Attica, though no reference or illustration is quite as early as the Oxford vase. But our painter belongs to East Greece and Ionia where more exact parallels must be sought. Unfortunately there are no other representations such as those on the Attic vases to help us, but there are literary references to a festival in Smyrna which seems to be of this type. Philostratos (*Vit. soph.* i. 25.1) tells of the trireme steered by the priest of Dionysos to the market-place, and Aristotle (*Rhet.* 15.373) has a similar tale of the carriage of the holy trireme.¹¹ The festival is probably the Anthesteria and it has generally been assumed that the trireme was on wheels, as on the Attic vases. But the words used by Philostratos and Aristotle, *μεταπορία* and *φέρεται*, by no means make that explanation the only possible one, and with our new East Greek scene of the boat carried by men the more obvious translation is to be preferred. It has been thought that the *καταγώγια* recorded at other Ionian cities (Priene, Miletos, Ephesos) were similar boat processions.¹²

We may then reasonably suppose that an Ionian Greek was familiar with Dionysiac processions involving the carriage of a boat such as is represented on the Oxford fragments; and the scene may be restored with Dionysos himself, or one impersonating him, on the boat

⁶ E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, 127, fig. 144; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii. fig. 231; E. A. Lane, *Greek Pottery*, pl. 41a; J. D. Beazley, *ABV* 146, No. 21.

⁷ *Jdl* xxvii (1912), 76 f., figs. 1, 2.

⁸ On satyr costume see T. B. L. Webster, 'Greek Comic Costume' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 36 (1954), 579 ff., and *Greek Theatre Production*, 28 ff. The Oxford vase is not discussed. For the later satyr-players see F. Brummer, *Satyrspiele*, figs. 1-6; in *Satyrn* 33 the same writer comments on the loincloth worn by our satyr (and cf. E. Buschor, *Satyrn* 64). On a late sixth-century black-figured oenochoe in a private collection in London a fully clothed satyr dances towards Dionysos who is accompanied by a 'real' satyr and maenads; this must be an unusual and early allusion to a dramatic performance. I will publish this vase shortly.

⁹ Florence 3897: Deubner, *op. cit.*, pl. 22; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pl. 35.2-3; photographs appear in Webster, *op. cit.*, pl. 2. The decoration is unusual—overlap on a lip-cup. Note too the lack of handle palmettes and the presence of a fillet at the top of the stem; cf. Beazley, *JHS* li (1932), 168.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Herter in *RE* s.v. 'Phallos' 1674 f. The extremities are like the prows of boats, and the eyes on them are more suitable decoration for boats though they do appear on phalloi. Compare especially the wooden boat models from Samos, *AM* lxxviii (1953), Beil. 35.

¹¹ Deubner, 102; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 268; texts *ibid.*, n. 4, and *Geschichte*², i. 591 f. F. Cassola's account of the Smyrna trireme, in *La Ionia nel Mondo Miceneo* 217, will need revision.

¹² Deubner, 103 f.; Nilsson, *Geschichte*², i. 583.

with attendant satyrs and musicians. But the provenance of the vase and the probability that it was the possession of an Ionian Greek resident in Egypt encourages further speculation. Herodotos (ii. 48-9) derives the phallic Dionysiac procession from Egypt.¹² Writing nearly

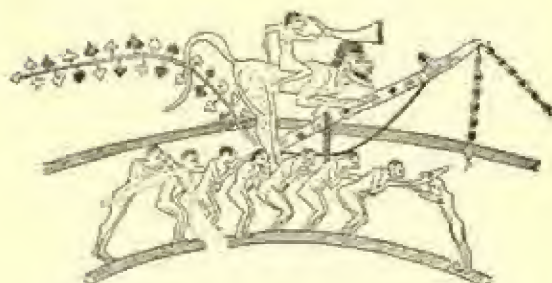


FIG. 4



FIG. 5

a century after our vase was made he says that the Egyptians celebrate a festival of Dionysos almost exactly as the Greeks, but instead of phalloi they carry images about a cubit high with members hardly smaller than the rest of the body. These the women carry around the villages led by a flautist and hymning Dionysos. Later a great golden phallos was a major feature in the famous Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos,¹⁴ and phallic rites are attested for various Egyptian deities including Osiris, whom Herodotos and the Egyptians identified with Dionysos, and Amun.¹⁵ The Ionian in Egypt might well be just as familiar with Egyptian phallic processions as with the Greek. Moreover at Karnak our Greek would also be a spectator of the greatest of the Egyptian boat festivals, the Opet festival in which the boats of Amun and lesser deities (Mut and Chons) were carried in procession from Karnak to the Nile, towed to Luxor for the ceremony and, after it, returned to their resting-places in Karnak.¹⁶ Fig. 5 shows the boat carried in this procession, as it appears on a relief at Luxor.¹⁷ Both here and at Karnak there were many representations of the procession. From Karnak came the Oxford vase with the only extant Ionian representation of a boat procession. The coincidence seems more than a chance one. It must be reckoned possible that the Greek (or Egyptian for that matter) who brought the vase to Karnak did so with the deliberate appreciation of the way in which the Greek scene mirrored Egyptian practice there. And as it is possible to argue that the vase itself was made by Greeks in Egypt the decoration of the vase might have been deliberately bespoke by the buyer.

It is known that finely decorated pottery of East Greek type was being made about this time by Greeks in or near Tell Defenneh (Daphnai) in the Nile Delta. At Naukratis

¹² And cf. Diod. i. 22.

¹⁴ Ath. v. 201c; cf. vi. 253c.

¹⁵ Hdt. ii. 42.2; cf. Plut. de Is. 13, and, on the Pannyia festival, *ibid.* 12.36; F. Zucker in *Aur Antike und Orient* (Festschrift W. Schubart), 163; E. R. Goodenough in *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vi. 71-80, gives a good summary of Egyptian phallic processions and representations.

¹⁶ Described in A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (1934), 198-200, cf. 329, fig. 140.

¹⁷ A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor* (*Mémoires de la Mission*, xv), pl. 42 (cf. pl. 41, 43). And see W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*. There are many other

illustrations from various periods of this Theban festival and the carriage of boats: G. Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 201, fig. 124; 203, fig. 126; 221 f., figs. 131-2; J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Thèbes*, 74, fig. 47; 89, fig. 53; K. C. Seele, *The Co-regency of Ramses II with Seti I*, 69, fig. 22. Most of the evidence and illustration are of New Kingdom date, but the ritual and processions certainly survived although the flourishing period of Thebes was only a memory by Homer's day (cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 97). Mr. J. R. Harris kindly gave me some references to the Egyptian scenes.

there was almost as surely a Chian factory producing votive pottery. Of the Clazomenian vases to which the Oxford vase is related one group, the work of the Petrie Painter, has so far been found only in Egypt and may therefore have been made there.¹⁸ It is easy to underestimate not only the activity of Greek potters working in Egypt but also the influence of Egyptian painting on Greek vase decoration, both in Egypt and at home. Apart from actual Egyptian motifs which appear on the situlae made in Egypt¹⁹ and others which may have prompted the vases discussed here, it is possible that Egyptian polychromy may have influenced a class of Chian vases which were no doubt made at Naukratis.²⁰ The Herakles and Busiris of the Caeretan hydria parody Pharaoh smiting his enemies, as has been observed.²¹ The Laconian Arkesilas vase is very close to some Egyptian paintings of weighing and checking lists before a seated overseer and the storage of goods, but the Greek artist had to force the latter scene into an exergue (contributing to the fallacy that it is a ship scene) while the Egyptian deployed the weighing and storing side by side.²² It is of course only the content of such scenes which is borrowed; the spirit is purely Greek and the Egyptians probably never saw the joke. There are, moreover, scenes on Attic vases of vintage, olive-gathering and fowling in which the human element is subordinated to the natural in a most un-Greek manner.²³ Egyptian wall paintings are surely the inspiration of these also. In a thoroughbred Greek vintage scene the human actors—or superhuman, where satyrs appear—occupy the field while the vine climbs humbly around them;²⁴ in the Egyptian and their derivatives a more natural proportion between human and vegetable is maintained. Such is the Ionian cup in the Louvre with the small figure of a man between two trees.²⁵ Such too is the scene on the other side of the Oxford vase (fig. 1) where man and dog are lost in the composition of the vine. This is yet another factor in the Egyptian history of our vase.

The Oxford vase may then be another example of a Greek vase made in Egypt,²⁶ but if so it makes the problems of its relationship to other groups of East Greek vase-painting even more complex than they are otherwise. It is to these that we must turn now. In general the vase belongs to a large class of East Greek black-figured vases in which three quite well-defined groups can be distinguished. The largest group, the so-called Clazomenian vases, have been studied in detail by R. M. Cook, who also discusses the related groups and some other pieces.²⁷ The Clazomenian vases have a wide distribution, but are confined to the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt, so the main source of the vases must be sought

¹⁸ Daphnai, see R. M. Cook, *CVA British Museum* viii. 32. I discuss the Chian factory in Naukratis in *BSA* li (1956), 55–62. For the Petrie Painter see R. M. Cook, *BSA* xlvii (1952), 128–30.

¹⁹ *CVA British Museum* viii. 31, 34, 37.

²⁰ Boardman, *BSA* li (1956), 60.

²¹ J. D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, 24. Another interesting parallel from Italy might be the Etruscan bucchero 'Anubis vase' in Palermo (V. Tusa, *Arch. Class.* viii (1956), 147–52, pl. 35–40) were it not that the 'Anubis' looks exactly like an ordinary Minotaur; and his companion then perhaps Daedalus.

²² The Arkesilas vase: Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii. fig. 193; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, 75, fig. 85, and references in E. A. Lane, *BSA* xxxiv (1933–4), 140 f., 161 f., B. B. Shelfton, *BSA* xlix (1954), 301 (No. 16), 308 f. O. Puchstein in *AZ* xxxviii (1880), 185 f. refers to a number of Egyptian parallels, but none is as striking as the painting from the tomb of Neferronpet (Thebes, No. 178; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 740, 750; part in H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*², 368 below).

Most of the Egyptian scenes quoted are, of necessity, from Theban tombs of the New Kingdom. But Egyptian artistic conventions remain unchanged into the Saite period, and the preserved tomb paintings give a fair idea of the scenes which must have decorated public and private buildings.

²³ E.g. Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii. figs. 293, 294, cf. 287, 288.

²⁴ E.g. the Amasis Painter's amphora, Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii. fig. 222; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, 122, fig. 139; *ABV* 151, No. 52.

²⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 212; Buschor, 90, fig. 104; E. A. Lane, *Greek Pottery*, pl. 21a.

²⁶ The appearance of the fabric is not conclusive, but analysis of the clay might prove rewarding.

²⁷ R. M. Cook, *BSA* xlvii (1952), 123–52; *ibid.* 149–51 on related groups. Cf. J. M. Hemelrijk, *De Caeretanse Hydriae*, 62, 122. D. von Bothmer makes some minor additions to Cook's lists in *AJÄ* lx (1955), 249. There are others in University College, Dublin, one fragment of a cup or bowl in Oxford (G.129.9), and *BSA* xlix (1954), pl. 6.69, from Chios, may be Clazomenian.

somewhere in East Greece itself, probably in North Ionia, possibly at Klazomenai. The vases were made from about 560 B.C. to 525 B.C. or later. Of about 540 B.C., or rather later, is a small group of amphorai named after the present situation of its most important example, the Northampton Group. The real and suspected provenances of these vases suggest that they were painted by an East Greek artist working in Etruria.²⁸ The same seems true of a third group, that of the Campana dinoi, in which the hands of four different painters have been discerned.²⁹ To two of these painters working in collaboration has been attributed the decoration of another fine vase in Rome, the Ricci hydria, as it has been called after its publisher.³⁰ But with this vase, important in the present context, we approach the problem posed by a number of individual vases whose exact relationship to the major groups it is not easy to define;³¹ one of these will be mentioned below.

Miss E. R. Price declared the Oxford vase Clazomenian, but pointed out features resembling the Northampton Group and the Campana dinoi.³² Mr. R. M. Cook classes it as 'perhaps Clazomenian', keeping it apart from the main groups which he has successfully distinguished.³³ Professor Rumpf assigns it to the Northampton Group.³⁴ The figure-drawing, or the little of it which is preserved, helps only slightly though the loincloths do rather recall the dress of the men on a Northampton Group vase in Munich, and the dog on another of the vases in Munich seems familiar.³⁵ There are other features too which bring our vase closer to the Northampton Group than any other. First, the shape, a large neck-amphora with hemispherical upper body, quite unlike the usual Clazomenian type. Secondly, the disposition of the decoration with the main panels above the line of the vase's greatest circumference and with a continuous floral band beneath them. Thirdly, the floral band itself, whose only exact parallels for position and execution are to be found on Northampton Group vases.³⁶ Here the resemblance ends. The satyr has none of the belly-wrinkles met on the Northampton Group vases, or on the dinoi or Clazomenian vases for that matter; his, and the men's bottoms are more angular. The satyr's eye, a double circle with triangle corners, follows the earlier archaic fashion rather than the more realistic circle in two arcs. The Oxford dogs are incomparably finer beasts. Finally, the Northampton Group vases use triple lines to divide the figured scenes from the florals and regularly set a floral above the main panels. It would seem, however, that our vase, whose provenance suggests an East Greek origin, and decoration the work of a Greek in Egypt, is in many ways to be closely associated with the work of an East Greek artist working in Etruria.

²⁸ Cook, 149 f.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 150 f. F. Villard in *MP* xliii (1949), 33 ff. distinguished the painters; the dinos in the Villa Giulia by the Painter of Louvre E737 (Villard, 44) is now illustrated in R. Bartoccini, *Il Nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, 90 (fig.). A new example is mentioned by V. Kallipolitis in *MP* xlviii (1955), 55 n. 3.

³⁰ *Ann.* xxiv-xxvi (1946-8), 47 ff., fig. 1, pl. 3-6. Hemelrijk, *op. cit.* 62, has suggested that two of the dinos painters worked on it. This seems correct, but the two artists have other, more trivial features in common, like the use of reserved leaf ornament and ribbon patterns (Villard, 44, fig. 10; 48, fig. 18; 49 n. 5; cf. Bartoccini, 90), motifs which do not appear on dinoi by the other painters. It may then be that they should be conflated into one whose pedestrian style is represented on the dinoi of the Painter of Louvre E737 and the shoulder of the Ricci hydria, and whose grand and rather Etruscan manner appears on Louvre E739 and the body of the Ricci hydria. There are hardly any points for

comparison between the two styles but note the similar treatment of himatia in the priest and Hermes on the hydria. Cf. Cook, 151.

³¹ To the vases discussed by Villard and Cook Rumpf adds (*MaZ* 57 n. 1) a fragment from Naukratis in Brussels (*CVA* iii. pl. 106.4) which might be anything, and an amphora from Delos (*EADélus* xvii, pl. 47.18) in a debased North Ionian style.

³² *CVA* Oxford ii. 89, specifying the floral and the elaborate spotting of the dog and locust.

³³ P. 139, F. 18.

³⁴ *MaZ* 57. He does not cite it with the other references, *ibid.* n. 1, but it must be our vase that he refers to in the text 'Scherben aus Ägypten mit einer Weinlese' [sic].

³⁵ Inv. 585-6, Sieveking-Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, 59 f., pl. 21.

³⁶ Linked, and in the same position on Munich 585 (see last note) which I follow in the reconstruction on fig. 1. Unlinked, and elsewhere on Munich 586 and Würzburg K.131, Langlotz, pl. 16-17.

It differs in being more sober in design, more fussy in execution, and appreciably earlier.

This is, however, not the only connexion with East Greek work in Etruria. We have noted how closely the Ricci hydria belongs to the class of Campana dinoi. On the shoulder of the hydria is an engaging scene of sacrifice and feasting in the shade of the intertwined branches of ivy and vine (Plate II(a)). The ivy leaves and berries betray the vase's origin, for they are exactly like the ivy patterns on the Caeretan hydriai whose origin in North Italy is assured.³⁷ The vine, on the other hand, exactly copies that on the Oxford vase, and this can be no chance coincidence for the two are so alike that, were it not for the figure-drawing on the vases, one might be justified in thinking that the same hand was at work. The unusually large clover-shaped leaves with their spiky edges are met on no other black-figured vases of East Greek, mainland, or Italian origin. On a dinos from a hand identified with one of those on the Ricci hydria appear youths with red loincloths,³⁸ unique on the dinoi but met in the Northampton Group and on the Oxford vase. Here then again is a very close association with another group of vases whose origin in the west seems certain.

Before an attempt is made to explain these phenomena there is one more vase which deserves discussion for its provenance, its painting and its subject. It is a black-figured neck-amphora, Berlin 5844.³⁹ Its provenance, like that of the Oxford vase, is Karnak, bought in Luxor.⁴⁰ On stylistic grounds Villard attributed it to one of the painters of Campana dinoi. Cook, I think rightly, contests the attribution, but its kinship to the dinoi is clear. On one side of the vase is represented a boxing match; on the other a satyr leading a ram (Plate II(b)).⁴¹ Satyrs might lead rams to sacrifice, but we cannot assume that this scene is simply an excerpt from a larger one. Nor is the ram an ordinary beast, for it is as high as the satyr and occupies three-quarters of the whole panel; naïve observance of iscephaly alone would hardly have led the artist to such a composition. Perhaps imagination is being given too great play if the provenance, Karnak, is recalled, and if it is remembered that Amun was also a ram-god. Herodotos reminds us that in Egyptian Thebes the ram was a sacred beast, sacrificed on only one day in the year, to Amun (Zeus).⁴² Amun's boat procession has already been quoted for comparison with the scene on the Oxford vase. Can this be another commentary on Egyptian religious practice, and not a particularly complimentary or sympathetic one? And is it possible that this vase too was deliberately decorated for the Egyptian market, even for Karnak, and that it was made by an East Greek artist in Egypt? Clairmont⁴³ thinks it 'likely that fragments of Greek pottery discovered in Karnak were found somewhere within the holy precincts of the temple of Ammon'. If this were true of the Oxford and Berlin vases their representations of a boat procession and

³⁷ Caeretan berries usually radiate from a single point, not a stem, but cf. *MP* xlv (1950), 8, fig. 6, a vase in Vienna. Contrast the poor Caeretan vine, *ibid.*, pl. 2-3. On the Ionian ivy pattern see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 156. A detail of the Ricci hydria shoulder is also figured by Rumpf (*MaZ*, pl. 15.5); *ibid.*, 67 he points out the similarity of the vine to that on the Oxford vase but he considers the hydria Clazomenian.

³⁸ In the Villa Giulia, see Bartoccini (above, n. 29).

³⁹ Villard, 47, 57; Cook, *op. cit.*, 140 (F.a) and pl. 32. Hemelrijk (*op. cit.*, 62) accepts Villard's attribution of the vase to a Campana dinos painter, and suggests that it was made before the painter emigrated to the West; this would well agree with the argument developed here, but I am not sure of the attribution.

⁴⁰ Villard, 57 n. 2 says from Luxor, bought at Karnak, but cf. Cook, and K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer*, 34 f.: 'Angebl. Karnak'. It must be admitted that these Egyptian provenances are not as secure as one would wish but my interpretation of the scenes on the Oxford and Berlin vases, if correct, seems to justify confidence.

⁴¹ For some other East Greek rams or sheep see Cook, *CVA British Museum* viii. 37.

⁴² *Hdt.* ii. 42.4-6. Cf. Erman, *op. cit.* (see n. 16), 43, 152, 335. This was a period in which the Egyptian interest in animal worship and the animal-mutations of their gods was particularly active, cf. Erman, 321-6; Zucker, *op. cit.* (see n. 15), 162 f.

⁴³ *Berytus* xi (1955), 138.

a supernatural ram would have been quite at home beside the Egyptian paintings and reliefs of the boat of Amun and the ram-god himself.

For the explanation of these East Greek vases which are so closely related, but which were manufactured in Etruria, in East Greece and, apparently, in Egypt, we have to look to the history of the style in its homeland. In the second quarter of the sixth century it seems likely that in many North Ionian states local schools of black-figure arose, probably under the influence of the Attic vases which were being imported and met on other common markets. These schools did not simply copy, but retained a distinctive Ionian character which they shared. The most flourishing school was that of the Clazomenian vases, which travelled far and survived longest, though it too eventually succumbed to Attic competition and the painting style was retained only for the decoration of clay sarcophagi produced for local markets. Of the other styles we know very little. Phokaia promises much⁴⁴ and Old Smyrna has already produced evidence for black-figure styles which must have been at home in North Ionia, cousins to the Clazomenian.⁴⁵ After the middle of the century derivative schools working in the same style appear in Etruria, and are suspected in Egypt, where, it seems, one Clazomenian painter may have worked. It was about this time that the North Ionian states lost the protection or at least the favour of their Lydian neighbours. In about 547 B.C. Croesus' Sardis was sacked by the Persians who proceeded to take punitive measures against some of the Ionian states. Phokaia itself was temporarily abandoned by the Greeks, who emigrated to the West. This much Herodotos tells us, and we can only guess at the political pressure or personal choice which led other Ionian Greeks to seek a new homeland in these years. They would turn naturally enough to the West, where Ionian colonies had long been established, to Etruria where Greek artists were apparently most welcome⁴⁶ and whose own products (bucchero pottery) had already reached East Greece; and to Egypt where Ionian enterprise had reopened a rich market to the Greek world. In the Northampton Group vases and the Campana dinoi the East Greek artists in Etruria had already deviated from their common homeland models enough to produce two distinct styles. In the Oxford vase, which is earlier than they but which in details heralds them both, we are nearer the fount, while the Berlin vase is closer to the tradition of the dinoi. The artists moved to Etruria, and perhaps to Egypt. The possibility cannot be ruled out that they travelled to Etruria via Egypt⁴⁷ and that the differences between their products in Africa and Italy is more one of time and place than of hand.

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⁴⁴ *AJA* lix (1955), 236 and pl. 70.3; lx (1956), 383; E. Akurgal, *Anatolia i* (1956), 9.

⁴⁵ E.g. E. Akurgal, *Bayrakli*, pl. 14b; *JHS* lxx (1950), 10.

⁴⁶ Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Ann.* xxiv-xxvi (1946-8), 81-3.

⁴⁷ Egyptian objects are found in Etruria from the end of the eighth century on. A Caeretan fragment

in Paris is said to be from Naukratis (P. Devambez, *MP* xli [1946], 59; fig. 18), but the provenance is doubtful (Hemelrijk, 64, 121). P. Courbin (*BCH* lxxvii [1953], 342) cites Etruscan bucchero at Naukratis (E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis* ii. 50 f.); this is probably all East Greek, 'Lesbian'. That our vase could have reached Egypt from Etruria seems to me much less probable.

A FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE

(PLATES III-IV)

MANY years ago, on my first visit to Greece, I scrambled down from the Temple at Sunium to bathe off the cape. Half-way down, I came across a fragment of worked marble c. 7 in. long, heavily discoloured on the fractured side; the break was ancient (Plate III(a)). It was lying on a 20° slope, and just why its seaward journey had been interrupted at that point was not evident. I put it in my pocket and took it home, explaining it to myself and other people to whom I have shown it as a piece of an architectural moulding. Actually, its worked side, from end to end, is slightly concave, but I explained this as the result of wear.

It was not until after many (far too many) years that, having still never seen an architectural moulding at all resembling my fragment, I began to wonder if it belonged to a piece of sculpture; and it was reserved for a student, Mr. James Picken, of Glasgow, to ask, 'Could it be a piece of hair?' Now at last I took the step of looking up Gerke's illustrations of a statue found at Sunium: the famous *kouros*.¹ Its hair, I saw, was rendered in the manner of my fragment, with concave 'waves' meeting in salient ridges (Plate III(b)). If it had been rendered in the commoner manner, with convex waves, I might have been less slow to recognise it. Also, the *kouros* had a piece missing above the left shoulder, which, it seemed, might well be my fragment (Plate III(c)). It only remained to take it to the National Museum at Athens, to have the great pleasure of finding that it was indeed the missing piece, and to leave it for re-attachment where it belongs. It has now been attached: see pl. IV, from a photograph which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Karouzos.

The moral of this story is clearly, first, that one should not jump to conclusions about what a fragment, whether of stone, metal or terracotta, actually is, in such a manner as to blind oneself to other possibilities; and second, that any traveller casting a predatory eye over the debris on an ancient site, especially one which has been excavated, should bear in mind the possibility that fragments which should have been saved *can* reach the rubbish-dump, even from an excavation much more recent than that at Sunium (1906). E.g. I have found on a dump, and handed in, a unique stamped amphora-handle. How many fragments of well-known statues, one is prompted to wonder, do still remain on dumps or elsewhere on ancient sites, or in private hands in Europe or America, unrecognised?

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¹ Gerke, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 23, from which our pl. III(b), (c); cf. *CAH*, plates i, p. 363.

HEMIOLIA AND TRIEMIOLIA

(PLATES V-VI)

'Your coward', says Theophrastus,¹ 'is the sort who, when aboard ship, thinks that every headland is a *hemiolia*.' The outline of a promontory, in other words, looks to his timid eyes like the low sinister shape of a pirate craft. And the *hemiolia* was so characteristically the vessel of pirates that Theophrastus could use the term off-handedly, without any qualification; it conjured up in his readers' minds what 'Jolly Roger' does in ours.

A *hemiolia*, then, must have been a ship designed particularly for lightness, speed and manœuvrability. But so were the twenty-oared vessels that Homer's heroes used or the penteconters that appear in subsequent centuries. What were the distinguishing characteristics of the craft that recommended it to pirates in particular?

The name itself is so curious that one instinctively feels it contains a clue. The adjective *hemiolios* means 'one and a half'; by analogy with words like trireme, quadrireme and so on, a *hemiolia* (sc. *naus*)² should have a '1½-fold' arrangement of the oars. An ancient lexicographer, Hesychius,³ describes it as *dikrotos*, i.e. with rowers in two levels, and with this in mind Lazare de Baif⁴ had suggested as long ago as 1537 that perhaps it had one bank of rowers from the prow to the mast amidships and two from that point to the stern. This solution, accepted for some time,⁵ has been put aside by modern writers. 'As no ancient representation [of a *hemiolia*] has survived,' observes Ormerod,⁶ 'we are uncertain as to its exact design and rig.' As a matter of fact, there is an ancient representation of a *hemiolia* extant. It has been under our noses for years waiting to be recognised.

On a black-figured cup which was turned out some time around 540 B.C., there is a scene showing two merchantmen and two galleys. The ships are well known for they have been often reproduced. One of the galleys (Plate V(a)) has a double line of oars, an upper and a lower, with twelve rowers in each; it is, to all outward appearances, an ordinary two-banked fighting ship.⁷ If one looks at the pictures of the other galley that are found in the standard works on ancient ships,⁸ copies not of a photograph but of a drawing, it appears to be a twin.

¹ *Char.* 25.2. The following abbreviations are used: Blinkenberg = C. Blinkenberg, *Triemiolia*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser ii. 3 = Lindiaka vii (Copenhagen, 1938); Torr = C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge, 1895).

² Cf. Diod. xix.65.1-2: ἀνολαβὸν ναὺς ἡμιολίας. The neuter also occurs although much less commonly (Polyb. v.101.2; *Papyri greci e latini* 551.2).

³ *S.v.* ἡμιολία. All passages containing the words ἡμιολία and τριημιολία—except those in papyri and a few inscriptions—are given *in extenso* by Blinkenberg.

⁴ *De re navali liber* (Basle, 1537), 47, quoted by Blinkenberg, 20-1.

⁵ Cf. E. Assman, *s.v.* 'Scewesen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler der klassischen Altertums* (Munich, 1889), iii. 1610; A. B. Cook in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* (4th ed., Cambridge, 1931), 585.

⁶ H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool, 1924), 29; cf. Blinkenberg, 20-1, 41-2.

⁷ F. Miltner's latest explanation (*s.v.* 'triemiolia' *R.E.* xxx. 143 [1939]) which presumably supplants that *s.v.* 'Scewesen' *R.E. Supp.* v.939 [1935]) that in

a *hemiolia* 'nur zwei Drittel der Schiffslänge mit Ruderen besetzt waren' is merely arithmetic with no evidence whatsoever to back it up. C. Starr's explanation (in 'The Ancient Warship', *Classical Philology*, xxxv [1940], 368-9) that *hemiolia* is just another name for a two-banked vessel, although partly pure guess and partly based on a misconception of the nature and development of the Greek warship (cf. the next note) comes, as will appear, remarkably close to the truth.

⁸ In two brilliant articles J. S. Morrison has settled an age-old controversy by proving beyond a shadow of doubt that Greek warships were rowed by oars placed in superimposed banks; see 'The Greek Trireme', *Mariner's Mirror*, xxvii (1941), 14-44 and 'Notes on Certain Greek Nautical Terms', *CQ* xli (1947), 122-35. For the place of two-banked ships in the line of development see in particular pp. 39-40 of the first article and 122-5 of the second.

⁹ Torr, fig. 17, reproduced in A. Köster, *Das antike Scewesen* (Berlin, 1923), pl. 44 and in many general manuals of the history of ships, e.g. E. K. Chatterton, *Sailing Ships and their Story* (new ed., Philadelphia,

However, a glance at the original (Plate VI) shows a most important difference. This ship is also two-banked. But, while there are twelve oarsmen in the lower line, *only six appear in the upper*, from the prow up to the mast; abaft that point there are none—the artist who made the drawing gratuitously filled out the row.⁹ Nothing could fit what we know of a hemiolia better: the rowers are arranged in two levels as Hesychius had said they were, and they total one-and-a-half banks as the etymology of the name suggests. De Baif, aside from putting the half-line of oarsmen in the wrong part of the ship, was perfectly right.

Why did Greek pirates construct a vessel of this type? What was there in its design that made it so useful for them in their grim profession? De Baif thought that the upper rowers were eliminated in the forward part of the ship to accommodate marines;¹⁰ the cup shows they were eliminated in the after part. Why?

The answer emerges from a close comparison of the two galleys on the cup (Plate V(a), VI). In hull, in rig, in practically every detail of construction and equipment save the oars, the two are twins. As a matter of fact, since the merchantmen are identical as well (Plate V(a), (b)), we very likely are looking at a series of two scenes involving the same vessels. There is only one element which varies from one to the other: the set of the sails. It is a small clue but an all-important one.

The sails of a Greek war-galley—a penteconter or a trireme or any of the larger units—were used solely for cruising. When a captain readied such a ship for action the first step he took was to strip off the sailing gear, the mast and yard and canvas and lines, and leave it all ashore.¹¹ It was useless to him in a fight: when his vessel was manœuvring into position in the line of battle or going through the intricate and delicate movements involved in a ram attack, he could not afford to chance the vagaries of the wind nor could he waste time and the crew's energy at a critical moment to trim or take in sail. But the skipper of a pirate craft faced a totally different situation. His job was not to attack an enemy craft, waiting like a fighting cock to receive the onslaught, but to overhaul and capture a merchantman that was straining every stitch of canvas to get away. In a good wind a sailing vessel could make better than five knots¹² while the best a galley could do under oars was only about seven;¹³ after a chase under these odds, rowers would be drooping on the benches, in no condition to take part in a boarding party—and there was no space aboard to spare for luxuries like marines. Clearly a pirate had to give chase under sail as well as oars. But this raised a problem: when he had overhauled his quarry and was ready to grapple and make the capture, he had to do what the warships did, somehow get the sailing rigging out of the way and clear for action. This was a complicated process that demanded men and room;

1923), fig. 12 on p. 59; R. and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship* (London, 1947), fig. 14 on p. 39. The cup itself is in the British Museum (B436).

⁹ Actually, accurate drawings showing the proper number of oars have always been available. The one in Warre's article 'navis' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1891), figure on page 213, is badly reproduced, but Torr himself included a very good one in his article on 'navis' in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, fig. 5282 on p. 35, and Cook (see n. 5 above) published another good one in his fig. on p. 383. The mistake in Torr's original drawing was pointed out by Morrison (*CQ* xli. 124 n. 3).

¹⁰ Cf. above, n. 4. He was no doubt influenced by Photius' description (s.v. *ἡμιολία*; quoted in Blinkenberg, 5). But Photius' statement makes no sense without emendation, and not much with; cf. Blinkenberg, 7.

¹¹ References in Torr, 86 n. 184. At the ludicrous

debacle of Aegospotami, Conon escaped with a tiny flotilla of nine craft. It is easy to see how, even though Xenophon does not supply the details (*Hell.* ii. 1.27-9). Lysander's fleet, stripped for action, had no sailing gear aboard. Conon must have raised sail and, boiling along down the Hellespont before the prevailing north-easterlies, been able to show his heels to any pursuers. He had so much of a headstart that, in a move which reminds one of the bandits in Western films who loose their victims' horses in order to prevent a chase, he took the time to cross the straits, stop at the Spartan anchorage for a second, and cart off all the sails that had been left there (*Hell.* ii. 1.29).

¹² Cf. L. Casson, 'Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, lxxiii (1951), 138-42.

¹³ Cf. W. L. Rodgers, *Greek and Roman Naval Warfare* (Annapolis, 1937), 31-3.

anyone who has taken in sail under way knows what a recalcitrant thing a wildly flapping piece of canvas can be, and the Greek squaresail was a particularly large and clumsy type to handle. The solution was the hemiola. Basically it was a light, fast, two-banked galley. But it was so constructed that the rowers and oars in the top bank abaft the mast could be swiftly removed leaving (1) a large clear area in the after part of the ship in which to douse and secure sail, and (2) a dozen or so hands available to do it. The skipper of a hemiola could race after a prize under canvas as well as oars and, at precisely the proper moment, put his vessel into the wind and give the command to secure the rigging; seconds later sail and yard would be stowed out of the way, the mast unstepped and lowered into the crutch aft, and a boarding party stationed along the gunwale ready for the signal to jump. It must have been an exciting manoeuvre to watch—although the spectators could hardly have been in any mood to enjoy it.

Now let us return to the cup. In the first scene (Plate V(a)) a pirate is overhauling his prey. There is a good wind blowing: the skipper of the merchantman, unaware of danger, has taken up on the brails and is travelling under shortened sail; the pursuer, in hard chase, has let his canvas fly so that every inch is drawing and he has every available oar manned. In the second (Plate V(b)), he is readying for the kill, on the point of carrying out the complicated manoeuvre of taking down sail. The oarsmen abaft the mast in the upper bank, having left their rowing stations and secured their oars, are on their feet, one handling the windward sheet, another the halyards, a third the brails: in the next moment yard and canvas will come thundering down. The skipper of the merchantman has seen the danger and done the one thing he can: the new menace is far more dangerous than the wind so he has loosened the brails and is desperately trying to get away under full sail.

By the fourth century B.C. the hemiola had gained respectability. At this time it appears occasionally as a unit in the warfleets. Even more, it has produced an offspring that is eminently respectable, the *triemiolia*.

Triemiolia is a loose compound of *trieres* 'trireme' and *hemiolia*;¹⁴ the proper form would theoretically be *trieremiolia*,¹⁵ but this is a mouthful difficult to pronounce. Hardly more is known about this type of ship than about its disreputable ancestor. All we can be sure of is that it was a standard navy unit¹⁶ and not a pirate craft, that it was particularly fast and manoeuvrable,¹⁷ and that it is found first in the fleets of Rhodes¹⁸ and then of Athens and

¹⁴ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, ii, *Die westgriechischen Dialekte* (Berlin, 1923), 634, who cites other examples of such haplology.

Most writers assume that there is a connection between *triemiolia* and *trieres*, that the *triemiolia* was some sort of trireme: cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin, 1935), No. 151, note to lines 2-4; Miltner, *RE*, xxx. 143; Starr (n. 6 above), 366; W. W. Tarn, 'The Greek Warship', *JHS* xxv (1905) n. 11 on p. 141. Photius, for whatever his evidence is worth, calls the *triemiolia* a trireme (s.v. *ἡμιολία*) and a passage in Polybius (xvi. 3.3-5) refers to its thranite oars—although, as Torr points out (15 n. 41), such an expression could just as well be used of the upper oars of a two-banked galley and does not necessarily imply a three-banked one. The question that has never been answered is: what kind of trireme is it?

¹⁵ This form actually occurs in Athen. v. 203d.

¹⁶ Torr, since he had at his disposal only three instances of the use of *triemiolia* (one of which he

considered a mistake for *hemiolia*; cf. n. 19 below), argued (15 n. 41) that *hemiolia* and *triemiolia* are just two names for the same thing, the latter formed by false analogy with such words as *τριμυρονόμος*. Since the time he wrote, almost two dozen examples in inscriptions and two in papyri have turned up which show a clear distinction between the two words: in all its occurrences, *triemiolia* refers exclusively to a standard fleet unit, never a pirate craft. Blikenberg, although he gives the texts of all the passages containing the word—save several in inscriptions and papyri which he missed (see n. 19 below)—failed to see this essential distinction and followed (p. 6) Torr, thereby vitiating much of his subsequent discussion.

¹⁷ Cf. the assignment the Rhodians gave to a flotilla of *triemioliae* during Demetrius' famous siege of their city (Diod. xx. 93.2-3).

¹⁸ The earliest mention is in the passage of Diodorus cited in the previous note.

Ptolemaic Egypt.¹⁹ The island in particular favoured it: there were organised flotillas of triemioliae in the Rhodian fleet and service on them was a recognised first step in the career of a Rhodian naval officer.²⁰ All this does not add up to very much but, taken with what we have just learned about the hemiolia and with certain facts of history, it is enough on which to base a reasonable guess.

It was the Rhodians who took upon themselves the thankless job of sweeping the seas clean of pirates, one they carried out successfully until, about the middle of the second century B.C., Rome's inane foreign policy made it impossible for them to continue. The traditional units of a Greek navy were unfit for this purpose: a swift hemiolia under sail and oar could show its heels to any penteconter or trireme whose rig was designed primarily for cruising. What was needed was a vessel that could not only give chase but have a clean advantage in the fight to follow. The simplest and most logical explanation of the triemiolia is that it was a design worked out by the Rhodians as the answer to this problem. Pirates had taken the two-banked galley, rearranged the oars in the after part of the upper bank, and created the hemiolia to chase merchantmen; the island's naval architects, fighting the devil with fire, took one of the faster models of the trireme, adapted it in the same way, and created the triemiolia to run down hemioliae. A three-banked ship was more than a match for any pirate craft: it was heavier and larger and had sufficient height to enable archers to shoot down on the enemy, and even the lightest types had some decking to protect the crew and to accommodate marines; but the standard models were made, like all war-galleys, to go into action without sails aboard. By designing a trireme whose upper bank, the thranite oars, was like that on a hemiolia, this disadvantage was obviated. And what could be more natural than to name such a craft triemiolia? Once it had proved its worth in the hands of its creators, it was borrowed by the Ptolemies who had their sea-lanes to Syria and Asia Minor and the north-eastern Aegean to protect and who were in close contact with Rhodes. Then it made its way to Athens and, presumably, other navies.

The triemiolia was not a permanent contribution to the ship-types of the ancient world. It shared the fortunes of its inventors: it came into being some time before 300 B.C., when Rhodes' naval power was approaching its zenith, and it passed away when Cassius in 42 B.C. stripped the island of its fleet. It needed as large and as well-trained a crew as any trireme; the lubberly Romans passed it up and did their chasing of pirates in the more easily manned liburnians. But it did not completely die. So attached were the Rhodians to these ships

¹⁹ For triemioliae in the Athenian navy see L. Robert, 'Triémíolies athéniennes', *Revue de Philologie*, xviii (1944), 11-17 (summarised in *Revue des études grecques*, lvi [1943], 336), who collects there several inscriptions that Blinkenberg had overlooked. Another published later, also referring to Athenian ships, is in B. D. Meritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia*, xi (1942), 275-303, No. 57 (268-7 B.C.). In his article Robert concludes by expressing his conviction that the triemiolia would turn up in other navies besides the Athenian and Rhodian. It has, in the navy of the Ptolemies. The evidence lies in two papyrus documents which both he and Blinkenberg missed: U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin, 1935), No. 151, 1-4 (259 B.C.) and P. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Leipzig, 1911-24), No. 37. (160 B.C. The sailors manning the ship in this document were not from the League of the Islands, but from the islands off the Egyptian coast west of

Alexandria; cf. W. Schubart in *Gnomon* ii [1926], 745.) The passage in Athenaeus (v. 203d) lists triemioliae among the ships in Egypt's navy but Torr (15 n. 41), apparently followed by Blinkenberg (8, 11), argued, citing Appian *Præfatio*, 10, that Athenaeus really meant hemioliae. The occurrences in the papyri prove conclusively that there were triemioliae in the Ptolemaic fleet. Athenaeus means what he says.

²⁰ See the collection of inscriptions in Blinkenberg, 15-17. The one valid point Blinkenberg makes is that the triemiolia is intimately connected with Rhodes (Bechtel had earlier suggested this, although with some reserve [see n. 14 above]). His long argument (21-44) that the profile of the hull one sees on the Nike of Samothrace and on certain other monuments made by Rhodians is the distinguishing mark of the triemiolia is pointless. Any galley that had an outrigger, trireme or quadrireme or what have you, had that sort of profile.

that for over a century they kept a few alive in the slips to bring out on ceremonial occasions.²¹ Like Nelson's *Victory* at Portsmouth or the *Constitution* in Boston, they were powerful reminders of past great days on the sea.

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²¹ Blinkenberg, 47-50.

THE BROMLEY-DAVENPORT VASES.

(PLATES VII-XII)

THE vases published here are part of the collection belonging to Lt.-Col. W. H. Bromley-Davenport, of Capesthorpe Hall, Macclesfield, Cheshire. As far as is known, they all come from Lucien Bonaparte's estates at Canino near Vulci, and were brought to Capesthorpe by Edward Davies Davenport (1778-1847), the great-grandfather, and Walter Davenport Bromley (1787-1862), the great-uncle of the present owner.

A black-figure neck-amphora¹ (Plate VII(a), (b)) is by the Antimenes Painter.² It is complete with lid, has no restoration and measures 38½ cm. to the mouth; the handles are triple. On one side Herakles is about to slay the Nemean lion; on the other Dionysos stands between two capering satyrs. The added red and white is clear from the photographs. The attribution is of course certain; note the vertical lines on the outside of the legs, the arc describing the calf on the inside of the legs, the knees and elbows, the lines on arms, and the long mouths.³ But dating is less certain. The drawing is careful and appears at first sight to be rather late. The large strong figures⁴ and the feeling for space, the folds of Dionysos' chiton compared with the lack of chiton folds on a neck amphora in London⁵ and on one of similar period in Munich,⁶ and the elaboration of Herakles' foldless chiton compared with that on the Villa Giulia,⁷ Northwick Park,⁸ and Naples⁹ neck-amphorae, all suggest a late date. But there is no trace of double curve on terminal fold or knee, nor of wavy lines on drapery, as on the late neck-amphora in London.¹⁰ The folds on Dionysos' himation are of an earlier type than the folds on the Northwick Park neck-amphora, and also than the somewhat earlier slashing folds on the neck-amphorae Munich 1514,¹¹ London B247¹² and London B267,¹³ the latter dated 'not very early'.¹⁴ The Capesthorpe folds, however, have more of a double curve than the straight zigzag folds on the hydriae in Berlin¹⁵ and Leyden.¹⁶ They approximate more to the folds on the neck-amphora London B244,¹⁷ which can be dated near that in Würzburg,¹⁸ which is earlier than London B267,¹⁹ and to the folds on the hydria in Munich,²⁰ which is a little later than the Leyden hydria. The vase, therefore, may perhaps be dated rather before 520. Herakles was, of course, a popular figure,²¹ and appears on over one-third of the vases attributed to the Antimenes Painter; almost half of these depict Herakles and the lion. Here the scene is unusual; the normal version of the story, that Herakles after attacking with bow and arrow and with club finally strangles the lion, appears on the hydriae in Berlin and Norwich.²² On hydriae the scene is very common on shoulder or predella, since wrestling in prone position effectively occupies the restricted space.

¹ I am grateful to Sir John Beazley for attributions to: the Antimenes Painter, the Red-Line Painter, the Berlin Painter and the Painter of London D12. I am indebted to Professor T. B. L. Webster for reading and criticising the MS., and to Mrs. Lenette Bromley-Davenport for permission to publish the collection.

² *ABV* p. 266 f.

³ Beazley, *JHS* xlvii (1927), p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ B267. *ABV* 85; *JHS*, p. 71, fig. 7, p. 73, fig. 8.

⁶ 1514. *ABV* 90; *JHS*, p. 75, fig. 11.

⁷ *ABV* 63; *JHS*, p. 69, fig. 5.

⁸ *ABV* 111; *JHS*, p. 77, figs. 14, 15.

⁹ *ABV* 68; *JHS*, p. 71, fig. 6.

¹⁰ B232. *ABV* 57; *JHS*, p. 81, fig. 19 and cf. pp. 80, 81.

¹¹ *ABV* 90; *JHS*, p. 75, fig. 11.

¹² *ABV* 81; *JHS*, p. 76, figs. 12, 13.

¹³ *ABV* 85; *JHS*, p. 71, fig. 7, p. 73, fig. 8.

¹⁴ *JHS*, p. 82.

¹⁵ 1890. *ABV* 34; *JHS*, pl. 14.

¹⁶ *ABV* 1; *JHS*, pl. 11.

¹⁷ *ABV* 74; *JHS*, p. 78 and p. 79, figs. 16, 17.

¹⁸ *ABV* 96; *JHS*, p. 73, fig. 9.

¹⁹ *JHS*, pp. 72-4.

²⁰ 1694. *ABV* 5; *JHS*, p. 68, fig. 3 and p. 70.

²¹ See Luce, *AJA* xx, p. 440 f.

²² *ABV* 34 and 23. I have not had access to all the published photographs of the Antimenes Painter's work.

The Antimenes Painter's 'brother' was Psiax, who took from, though is not connectible with, the Amasis Painter. But the Antimenes Painter's contemporary, the Lysippides Painter, was a follower of Exekias and the forerunner of the little later painters of the Leagros Group. The second Capesthorpe vase, a black-figure hydria (Plate VIII(a), (b)), which was first seen and attributed by P. E. Corbett, belongs to the Leagros Group.²³ It is 47½ cm. high, and broken, but carefully repaired. The chief scene is the harnessing of a chariot; a warrior steps on to the chariot while another holds the horses' bridles; a charioteer, white-clad and wearing a petasos, stands with his arm over the horses, and behind a man brings up the trace-horse. On the shoulder are athletes—two boxers, a trainer, a discus-thrower, a runner, a flute-player in long white robe and two sprinters. There is a little restoration, particularly on the white.

This hydria is near the heart of the Leagros Group; it has an intensity not achieved by the Antimenes Painter and corresponds to the red-figure drawings of the pioneers Euphronios and Euthymides. Its figures are large, masculine and purposeful; they crowd the scene, overlapping with one another; in the centre is a mass of white. Chariot scenes (with animated and realistic horses) are favourites in the Leagros Group. This artist is not far from Painter A.²⁴ Compare on the hydria by him in London,²⁵ the double arc and small semicircle on the inside right knee of the man restraining the right-hand combatant with the inside left knee of the Capesthorpe warrior entering the chariot; the left knee of the youth to the left with the right knee of the same Capesthorpe warrior; the inner calf markings of the left-hand combatant with the inner calf of the man leading the Capesthorpe trace-horse; the ear of the left combatant with the ear of the Capesthorpe charioteer. Compare the profile of noses and the semicircular arc round the lobe; and the eyes whose horizontal axis is offset from the normal—perhaps an attempt at foreshortening. Or compare on another hydria,²⁶ profile, nose marking and eye, ringlet hair beneath helmet, and plaits, undecorated greaves and lack of ankle marking, stolid expressions and the mass of white as the centre of the group. While many details can be compared with work by other hands, it seems best to regard the Capesthorpe vase as near Painter A.

The drapery of the Capesthorpe vase is fully developed, and there is much realism; see the profusion of blood indicated by red paint in the boxing scene on the shoulder. But in the absence of facial expression or animation even in horses, and of foreshortening or break from the profile rule, the vase seems to be earlier than London B327, and to be dated nearer 510 rather than later.

I am unable to attribute the third vase, a black-figure kalpis (Plate IX(a), (b)). It is imperfectly mended; the mouth and a small piece of the main panel are missing; it measures to the shoulder approximately 28 cm. Hermes, wearing his usual broad-brimmed hat and winged sandals, caduceus in hand, is leading Herakles, who wears lion-skin, carries bow, quiver and sword, and holds a chain with which to secure Cerberus, towards the gates of Hades; Herakles' club leans behind him. Cerberus, this time two-headed, stands guard in front of the entrance, where also is the snake, symbol of death. Persephone, holding a staff, stands facing the door but looking back at Hermes. The gateway is prostyle; its column has two necking-grooves, an antique convex capital painted white and a red abacus. Modern is the painting on the section above the crack running from top of quiver, through the centre of Herakles' shoulder, bridge of Hermes' nose and thence upwards; also on the section from top left of architrave to Persephone's jaw and thence to the top of her staff.

The vase is Leagran, dated late in the sixth century. It recalls to me the Acheloos Painter;²⁷ the nose profile with rounded tip, thigh muscles, markings on palm and forearm,

²³ *ABV*, p. 365.64.

²⁴ *ABV*, p. 355.

²⁵ B327. *ABV*, p. 363.38; *Dev.*, pl. 39, 1-2.

²⁶ London B323. *ABV* 33.

²⁷ *ABV*, p. 382.

and triple-dot decoration appear on an amphora,²⁸ profile, ear, and leg muscles on a pelike,²⁹ both in London; profile, knee and outer muscles of the leg are to be seen on a neck-amphora in Rome³⁰ and with triple-dot decoration and similarity of fold on one in New York.³¹ The nose and ear can be compared with those on a lekythos in Munich,³² and on another in Vienna³³ there is the white triple-dot decoration and similar drawing of nose and hand. These comparisons do not warrant an ascription of the Capesthorne kalpis to the Acheloos Painter, or even to his manner. They do nevertheless show a proximity.

A fourth Capesthorne vase is by a painter whose better works fall within the Leagros Group, the Red-Line Painter.³⁴ It is a small black-figure neck-amphora with triple handles, and has the red lines bordering the pattern below the pictures from which the artist is named. It is 26 cm. high; its lip and part of the neck are modern; centrally beneath the foot and under the glaze is dipinto AT. On the reverse (Plate X(a)) are two maenads dancing, one with a clapper, in attitudes similar to those on two Villa Giulia neck-amphorae.³⁵ The obverse, heavily restored, shows a youth, centre, abducting a woman to right (? Peleus and Thetis) while another woman flees to the left; in the background are vine-sprays. This unimpressive vase is certainly not Leagros; it is later, and belongs to the early fifth century.

A vase³⁶ (Plate X(b), (c)) which will serve as a transition-piece to the red-figure vases is a small neck-amphora which used to stand in the library at Capesthorne, and was seen by P. E. Corbett. Part of lip and neck are missing; the surface has suffered some damage, but there is no restoration. The figures, who in their liveliness and robust humour remind one of some of the works of the Acheloos Painter, are A, a silen playing a double flute (note the reversed left hand), and B, a silen running with cup and ivy branch. The vase is in the experimental Six's technique;³⁷ its date is near the turn of the century. Beazley lists a neck-amphora in Florence of the same technique, in the same style; a stamnos of the same technique in London is compared by Corbett with the Capesthorne vase, and appears to be by the same hand; Beazley quotes another in Berlin as going with this.

The finest red-figure vase in the collection is a Nolan amphora (Plate XI(a), (b)), attributed by Corbett to the Sabouroff painter.³⁸ It is 31 cm. high, and has central-rib handles; there is no restoration. On the obverse, Apollo stands frontally, looking to his right; he wears chiton and himation, a wreath on his hair, and holds in his right hand a lyre bedecked with ribbons. On the reverse, a woman similarly dressed but wearing a sakkos faces right and is about to pour a libation from the phiale in her right hand. Red is used freely, and especially on the drapery the heavy black lines contrast finely with those of diluted brown. The vase is a mature work. Compare with the Capesthorne woman the figure on the reverse of London E324³⁹ in her stance, her himation folds, especially the heavy border of the overhang, the horizontal embroidery of her chiton, and her sakkos. Her stance and himation folds are also similar to those of the figure on the reverse of London E323.⁴⁰ The Capesthorne Apollo's hair and wreath may be compared with Apollo's on the obverse of this vase, and his stance and himation overhang with those of the figure on the reverse of a third London Nolan amphora, E330.⁴¹ These three vases Beazley classifies as 'late'. But the himation folds of Athena on the obverse of E324 and of Hermes on E330 are much more elaborate than any on the Capesthorne vase; the dot ornament of Apollo's chiton occurs on an earlier Nolan amphora, London E333;⁴² the Capesthorne vase appears to be later than

²⁸ *ABV*, p. 375.212; 'Near the Acheloos Ptr.' *JHS* xxvii., pl. 1.

²⁹ *ABV*, p. 384.20; Acheloos Ptr. *ABS*, pl. 15.

³⁰ *ABV*, p. 383.4; Acheloos Ptr. *Dev.*, pl. 42.

³¹ *ABV*, p. 383.10; Acheloos Ptr. *Dev.*, pl. 43.1.

³² *ABV*, p. 385.32; Acheloos Ptr. *Haspels*, *ABL*, pl. 15.3.

³³ *ABV*, p. 379.270; 'recalls the Acheloos Ptr.' *Haspels*, *ABL*, pl. 15.1.

³⁴ *ABV*, p. 354 and 600 f.

³⁵ 858 and 859, *ABV*, p. 601, 12 and 13.

³⁶ *ABV*, p. 672.

³⁷ v. *V. Pol.*, p. 8; *Haspels*, *ABL*, p. 66.

³⁸ *ARV*, p. 556 f.

³⁹ *ARV*, p. 559.67.

⁴⁰ *ARV*, p. 559.68.

⁴¹ *ARV*, p. 559.69.

⁴² *ARV*, p. 559.58.

this, and for its drapery there are close parallels on two cups in Rome.⁴³ These comparisons and the quiet maturity of the Capesthorpe vase with its careful, pleasing designs would suggest a date very near the middle of the fifth century.

Another Nolan amphora (Plate XII(a), (b)) of a little earlier date, around 460, is a *pasticcio*, with neck, shoulder and all the lower part of the vase built up from alien pieces. On the obverse, a youth with lyre and flute case runs left; head and shoulders, part of feet and border are modern. On the reverse is a draped figure facing right, with head and feet ludicrously restored; the border also is modern. Sir John Beazley writes 'late Berlin Painter; as often, hard to say whether still himself or school, especially when there is so little left'.

Concluding this selection from the Capesthorpe vases is a well-preserved red-figure askos with two horses (Plate XII(c)). Dated a little before the middle of the century, it is by the Painter of London D12,⁴⁴ whose relationship to the Penthesileia Painter can here be seen. The naturalistic and spirited horses are indebted, particularly in mouth, forelock, ear, mane and shoulder, to the Penthesileia Painter's drawing, as on his cups in Munich, Hamburg and the Louvre.⁴⁵

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⁴³ *ARV*, p. 557, nos. 24 and 25.

⁴⁴ *ARV*, p. 628 f.

⁴⁵ *ARV*, p. 582, 1, p. 583, 4 and 5.

NOTES ON THE PANATHENAEA¹

I. NOMENCLATURE

THE most detailed statement is preserved for us by Harpocration, *s.v.* *Παναθήναια*

. . . διττὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθηναῖσι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πενταετηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν· Ἰσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῶ (12.17). ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου, καθά φησιν Ἑλλάνικός (F. gr. H. 323a F2) τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων (324 F2), ἐκάτερος ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀτθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναῖα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν (334 F4).

According to this account, the original name of the festival was Ἀθηναῖα, but this name had already been replaced by Παναθήναια in what we can regard only as having been still mythical times. Since Harpocration does not attempt to explain the nature or the purpose of the reforms which he ascribes to Erichthonius, the questions who really founded the Panathenaea and why do not arise on his account. All that need be said here is that the name Παναθήναια may mean one of two things: (a) a festival celebrated by 'all-Athenians' (cf. Πανιώνια) or (b) a festival in honour of Panathena (cf. Πάνδια).² The most important point in Harpocration's statement, however, is the care with which he distinguishes between the two types of Panathenaic festival, that καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτόν, and that διὰ πενταετηρίδος, 'which they also called μεγάλα'. The accuracy of his information on this point is demonstrated by official inscriptions, which speak of Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα (first in the Erythrae decree of 453-2—*ATL* ii. D10.3)³ and of Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν (*IG* ii-iii². 334.31); the epithet μικρά describing the annual festival is found only in literature (Lysias 21.2.4, referring to the celebrations of 409 and 403; Menander fr. 428 Körte). Even in official documents Παναθήναια can be used alone; but this usage is not so ambiguous as it appears, since, with the possible exception of *IG* i². 302.58 (= Tod 75.61) of 415, which will have to be discussed later in this paper, I have not found a single case in which Παναθήναια alone necessarily, or even probably, refers to anything but the great Panathenaea.

¹ This paper arose from certain comments on my article, 'Peisistratus and Homer' (*TAPA*, lxxvi, 1955, 1-21), kindly sent me by Professor R. Hampe of Mainz. Professor Hampe, Mr. D. M. Lewis of Christ Church, Oxford, and Dr. M. van der Valk read drafts, and sent me most helpful comments. I have been helped on certain points by Professor T. B. L. Webster, Mr. A. N. Marlow of the University of Manchester, and Mr. A. G. Woodhead of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The best way in which I can express my deep gratitude to them for their kindness is by making it clear that none of them should be supposed to agree with everything I have written.

In addition to the standard abbreviations (*ABV*, *ARV*, *ATL*, et sim.), I quote the following works by author's name and page (or other) reference alone: G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History B.C. 478-431*², rev. R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes (1951); A. Mommsen,

Feste der Stadt Athen (1898); S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou *AJA* xlii (1938), 495 ff.; K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisumphoren* (Diss. Köln, 1941); A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (1949); M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* i³ (1951); W. Zschietzschmann, *JdI* xlvī (1931), 45-60.

² This second possibility must be admitted, in view of H. Mühlstein's suggestion that Πᾶσις may have been a Pylian divinity in Mycenaean times (*Minos* iv, 1956, 78-89); this interpretation is perhaps supported by the existence of Panathenaic festivals outside Athens, e.g. at Marathon (Pind. *Pyth.* viii. 79 and schol. *ad loc.*—Boeckh's scepticism is hardly justified).

³ The earliest occurrence of μεγάλα as an epithet of Παναθήναια is the private dedication by the *περιωδοντής* Callias son of Didymias (No. 164 Raubitschek), which was presumably made soon after Callias's Olympic victory in 472 (Ol. 77—Paus. v. 9.3.).

II. THE ALLEGED ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL

It would seem from Harpocration that the Panathenaea, in both its annual and its quadrennial form, was founded by Erichthonius; but a more detailed account is given by the scholiasts on a passage in the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides (xiii. 189.4-5), in which the orator refers to the Panathenaea as the oldest festival in Greece, or perhaps second only to the Eleusinia. On this the scholiasts (iii. 323 Dindorf) comment (*a*) that according to Aristotle's 'arrangement' (τάξις) of the ancient games of Greece the Panathenaea was second in date of foundation to the Eleusinia (we learn later that by 'Aristotle' they mean ὁ τοῦς Πέπλους συνθεῖς), and (*b*)

ὁ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἀγὼν] τῶν μικρῶν λέγει (sc. Aristides) ταῦτα γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα (only Dindorf's manuscript D contains this vital word), ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος γενόμενα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Ἀστερίου τοῦ Γίγαντος. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησεν . . .

The last sentence of this note will claim more detailed consideration later; at present there are only two things about the scholiasts' information to notice: (1) the description of Erichthonius as son of Amphictyon, and (2) the connexion of the festival with the killing of Asterius the giant. That Hephaestus was Erichthonius's father is the usual version; a connexion between Erichthonius, son of Hephaestus, and Amphictyon is given in the version of Apollodorus (iii.14.6), according to which Amphictyon King of Athens was expelled by Erichthonius, who then reigned in his stead, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξόανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἑορτὴν συνεστήσατο. Thus the scholiast's statement that Erichthonius was Amphictyon's son is likely to have been a Euhemeristic 'correction' of the older version; if the conventional interpretation of IG i². 84 (on which see below, p. 31) is, as I believe, correct, there was in the fifth century a close connexion between the Panathenaea and the worship of Hephaestus. On the other hand, the information that the festival was established ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Ἀστερίου τοῦ Γίγαντος, though it seems to be entirely unsupported (it is impossible to identify Asterius the giant with any of the people named in Roscher, s.vv. Asterion, Asterios), may preserve at least part of the truth; Plato's account of the designs on the *peplos* (*Euthyph.* 6a) suggests that in historical times the Athenians recognised a connexion between the festival and Athena's part in the war against the giants, but it is not clear how Asterius comes into the story. Diodorus (iv. 60.2) knows of an Asterius who was a son of the younger Minos and Pasiphae, and Apollodorus (iii. 1.4) calls the Minotaur Asterius; and it is possible, therefore, that Aristides' scholiast confused what we may call the 'sacral' version of the Panathenaic foundation-legend, according to which Erichthonius founded it to commemorate Athena's part in the war against the giants, and the 'political' version, according to which the festival was instituted by Theseus. This alternative version is found in its simplest form in Plutarch (*Thes.* 24.3): Theseus called his unified city Athens and established the Panathenaea as a common sacrifice (Παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν). A more complex account, which may go back to Istrus, is given by Pausanias (viii. 2.1); according to him the Lycaea, founded at Lycosura in Arcadia by Lycaon, is even older than the Panathenaea, τοῦτω γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι Ἀθηναῖα ὄνομα ἦν, Παναθήναια δὲ κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ Θησέως, ὅτε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συνελεγμένων εἰς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν. These two versions are combined by a scholiast on Plato (*Parm.* 127a):

Παναθήναια] ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέθη μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Θησέως συναγαγόντος τοὺς δήμους εἰς ἅστυ. ἀγεται δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν διὰ πέντε ἔτων.

Plato's scholiast is here a prey to some confusion; the text speaks explicitly of the great Panathenaea, so that only the last sentence of his commentary is strictly relevant, unless

one supposes him to imply that the annual festival was founded by Erichthonius and the quadrennial by Theseus.

The double origin of the festival, as given by these various authorities, with its first foundation by a son of Hephaestus and its re-foundation or reorganisation by the more or less historical Theseus is very reminiscent of the double origin of the Areopagus (for the purification of Ares, and then again for that of Orestes). It has often been suspected that the Areopagus legends have been manipulated for political ends; and it is therefore at least possible that the same is true of the Panathenaic legends. It would be rash to attempt to name the persons who might be suspected of this latter manipulation, but it is reasonably clear that these stories must have been addressed to an audience which had reason to believe that the Panathenaic festival in some form had existed since time immemorial.

III. THE EARLIEST FORM OF THE FESTIVAL

The oldest reference to a festival in honour of Athena at Athens is in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* ii. 550-1):

ἐνθα δέ μιν ταύροις καὶ ἀρνείοις θάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

The whole passage of which this couplet forms part has been suspected (e.g. by Miss Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 1950, 442-9) of having been interpolated in the sixth century in compliment to Peisistratus. Even if this were so, it would remain the oldest literary reference to the Athenian worship of Athena; but if it is, it can only be said that it is surprising that it should refer only to an annual sacrifice, and not to the great quadrennial festival which, according to Aristides' scholiast, Peisistratus himself established. The sacrifice is of course the essential part of the festival, from the religious point of view, at all periods; but its existence implies that of at least three further elements: (i) the *ἀγών* proper, i.e. the gathering of the citizens (for the earliest sense of *ἀγών* see H. J. M(ette) in *L.f.g.E.*, s.v.), (ii) the procession which brings the victims to the altar, and (iii) the feasting and jollification which follow the sacrifice. Even in the oldest form of the festival it is probable that the jollification would involve a considerable element of competition; but there is reason to think that these competitions, if they existed, remained for a long time unofficial and unorganised.

It will, I think, appear from what is said below that what we know of the arrangements for the annual festival in historical times is likely to be a better guide to the oldest form of the festival than the more elaborate arrangements for the great Panathenaea; if that is so, we can say that in the late fourth century the most important parts of the annual Panathenaea after the sacrifices were the all-night festival (*παννυχίς*) and the procession which began at sunrise after the *pannychis* (*IG* ii-iii². 334, especially lines 31-2); in the late fifth century the annual celebration included also *κύκλιοι χοροί* and *πυρριχισταί*, for whom *χορηγοί* were required (*Lysias* xxi.2,4).

The lines from the Catalogue of Ships, if they refer (as it is reasonable to suppose that they do) to the earliest known form of the Panathenaea, suggest that the festival followed the same lines every year; and if this were so, there would be no place in this earliest known ritual for the offering of the *peplos* unless it were annual, like the sacrifice. Mr. C. J. Herington (*Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias*, 1955, 17, 32 ff.) has shown that the *xoanon* was clothed; but in the fifth century and later the *peplos* was offered only quadrennially, at the great Panathenaea. The ritual associated in historical times with the making of the *peplos* had many archaic features (though it is not clear that quadrenniality was one of them), but it does not follow that these are of Attic origin—a very similar *peplos*-ritual was carried out quadrennially in honour of Hera at Olympia, and the Attic ceremony in the

form in which we know it may have been an archaising imitation of the Olympic ritual. Even if we suppose, with Miss Lorimer, that the so-called *Supplicatio* in *Iliad* vi. 271-311, is a sixth-century Attic interpolation (and the case for this is far weaker than that for interpolations in a catalogue—*CR* ii, 1952, 15), it should be noted (a) that this view implies that the Athenian *peplos*-ritual was new in the sixth century, and (b) that the person who must be supposed to have remodelled Book vi to take the *Supplicatio* must have regarded it not as a recurrent ritual for each repetition of which a *peplos* was to be specially made (as it was at Athens) but as an emergency appeal, using a *peplos* which, however it was cherished by its owner, had not been made for that, or any ritual, purpose.

In later times, as may be inferred from the coincidence of Aristotle's information about the Panathenaic ἀθλα (*Ath. Pol.* 60.1,3) with the prize-lists which are preserved in inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries (*IG* ii-iii², 2311 ff.), the great Panathenaea included a considerable variety of competitions: music, athletics and horse-racing, in which the prizes went to individual competitors; πυρρῆχισταί, εὐανδρία,⁴ and a torch-race, in which the main prizes went to those who bore the cost of the λειτουργία (*IG* ii-iii², 3022); and a boat-race, in which the prize went to the victorious tribe; there were also individual prizes for εὐανδρία (*Ath. Pol.* 60.3) and for the winning λαμπαδηφόρος (*IG* ii-iii², 2311.77). Of these it is reasonably certain that the individual competitions were instituted in the sixth century and confined to the 'great' Panathenaea; but it has already been shown that πυρρῆχισταί competed at the annual festival in the fifth century, and it is therefore possible that 'tribal' contests formed part of the annual festival from very early times; there is something distinctly archaic about the idea of a contest in εὐανδρία, and it is at least possible that the torch-race preceded the *pannychis* (see note 9, below). But if these contests existed before '566' it seems pretty clear from the silence of our authorities that official records had not been preserved into historical times—and the prizes were evidently not of an imperishable kind.

IV. '566' B.C. AND ALL THAT

The early years of the sixth century saw considerable developments in many Greek festivals, usually on the model of the Olympic games; and it is evident that the Athenians were not far behind the organisers of the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals (to say nothing of Cleisthenes of Sicyon) in feeling that their chief festival required to be brought into line with the new ideas. The essential feature of the new ideas was the institution of organised competitions, especially in horse-racing, athletics and *mousike*; and there is archaeological evidence that official prizes for equestrian and athletic competitions had been established at the Panathenaea by a date which may be roughly determined as 'about 560'. This evidence is provided by the earliest representatives of the long series of Attic vases which are known as 'Panathenaic amphorae'.⁵ Many of these are authenticated as prizes by the official inscription ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΑΙΟΝ which they bear; others, although they are without the inscription and are usually smaller in size than the inscribed amphorae, are of the same shape as the inscribed amphorae and bear the same kind of decoration (notably the panel with the armed figure of Athena). The precise purpose of these smaller amphorae has not been determined, but the scenes with which they are decorated can legitimately be used as evidence for the existence at the period at which they were made of certain types of competition not attested by actual prize amphorae.

⁴ Though I cannot prove it, I am inclined to think that the Panathenaic amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles, No. 243 (No. 8 in the appendix to this paper), may show a part of this contest. *IG* ii-iii², 2314.101 mentions a contest in ἀπενικῶς μάχθος, which I take to be late officialese for εὐανδρία.

⁵ On Panathenaic amphorae in general, see J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (1951), ch. viii.; *AJA* xlvii (1943), 441 ff. The smaller Panathenaics mentioned above should not be confused with the miniatures discussed by Beazley in *BSA* xli (1940-3 [publ. 1946]), 10-21.

The earliest of these Panathenaic amphorae, to judge by stylistic criteria, is the so-called 'Burgon' amphora (B.M. B130; *ABV* 89, Burgon group No. 1), which was awarded for a contest with the two-horse chariot; the earliest Panathenaic amphorae showing foot-races (Halle inv. 560; *ABV* 120: Chicago, Univ., fr.; *ABV* 110, Lydos No. 34) are not much later than the Burgon amphora. The absolute date of these vases cannot be determined from internal evidence; but (as has already been said) a date 'about 560' would best suit the stylistic evidence. As will be shown later, there is evidence that musical contests of various kinds were being held at the Panathenaea by the middle of the sixth century; but it is not possible to give an absolute date for the institution of either the equestrian or the musical contests. For the athletic contests, on the other hand, an absolute date is provided by an entry in Eusebius's *Chronicon*, which appears in Jerome's Latin version (ed. Helm, 1956, 102a-b) under the years of Abraham 1450-1 and OL53.3-4 (i.e. 566, 565 B.C.) as follows:

'Agon gymnicus quem Panathenaeon
vocant, actus';

the Armenian version, as translated by Karst (1911, 188), under OL53.4 (Abr.1451), i.e. 565, has 'Der Athener Nacktkampf-Agon ward eingesetzt'. We do not know on what this dating is based; it is possible that it goes back to an official inscription giving a victor-list, or perhaps to a private dedication, but it is not to be supposed that the original document (if there was one) gave the date in terms of the Olympic cycle—an official inscription, if we may judge by the dramatic inscriptions, might be expected to give the archon's name, and that could be converted into Olympic terms, but it is not likely that private dedications of the sixth century would be dated at all. In any case the name of the archon (which is the essential link between Athenian information and Olympic chronology) is, as usual, absent from Eusebius's evidence. It will therefore perhaps be advisable to say that, so far as our evidence goes, the athletic 'meeting' at the Panathenaea was first made official in '566'—the inverted commas being meant as a symbol of our uncertainty about the manner in which this dating has been arrived at. It is probable that both the equestrian 'meeting' and the musical 'festival' (both legitimate modern translations of ἀγών, considered as a series of contests for prizes) were made official at the same time; and if that is so the date '566' can properly be used as a *terminus post quem* for the making of the earliest true Panathenaic amphorae.⁶

Mme. Karouzou, it is true, maintains that the amphora Athens N.M. 559 (for details, see Appendix, No. 10), which she dates about 570 (502; Peters, *op. cit.*, 13 (above, n. 1), finds her argument 'überzeugend'), is as she calls it 'proto-Panathenaic', and that it provides evidence for horse-races and competitions in ἀθλητική at the Panathenaea before 566. There seem to me to be several difficulties in the way of accepting this suggestion. (1) Mme. Karouzou has pointed out that the form of the amphora is very closely related to that of the earliest explicitly Panathenaic amphorae; but it does not follow from this that there was felt to be anything specifically Panathenaic about this particular form of amphora when it was first developed. Its adoption for Panathenaic purposes may have been entirely accidental; and indeed there is the clearest possible evidence that one painter at least with a Panathenaic amphora to his credit found it possible to use an amphora of specifically 'Panathenaic' shape for a non-Panathenaic occasion (Oxford 1920.107; *ABV* 89, Burgon group No. 2). (2) Mme. Karouzou herself identifies the aulete not as a competitor but as the legendary virtuoso Olympus, and there is nothing to show that the horseman on the other side is a competitor either. (3) Nothing in the decoration of the vase suggests any Panathenaic

* Beazley's suggestion (*Development* 88) that the Burgon amphora may be earlier than 566, since it shows a horse-race, is a legitimate inference from Eusebius's silence; but if it is right '566' loses any

value which it has hitherto had as an absolute date to which the stylistic chronology of early sixth-century black-figure vase-painting can be related.

reference. It may therefore be urged that this vase should not be treated as in any way relevant to the problem of the content of the Panathenaic festival before '566'; but even if this view is not acceptable, it still remains the fact that a vase dated on stylistic grounds 'about 570' cannot be regarded as significantly older than an event dated on chronographical evidence '566'. It is very possible (and has already been admitted in this paper) that there were unofficial contests at the Panathenaea before '566'; but in the present state of the evidence it is safest to assume that the official *agōnes* at which individuals competed for *athla* were instituted in '566'.

This date may be presumed to rest, in the last analysis, upon the identification of the archon in whose year the *agon gymnicus* is first recorded as having been held; and a remnant of this identification is perhaps preserved for us in what Mr. T. J. Cadoux (*JHS* lxxiii, 1948, 104) has with exemplary moderation described as 'the very corrupt text' of Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.* 2-4, the relevant parts of which run as follows in Jacoby's text (*F. gr. H.* 3 F2):

ὠκεῖστο γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ γένει πρὸς Μιλτιάδην τὸν στρατηγόν, τῷ δὲ Μιλτιάδῃ πρὸς Αἰακὸν τὸν Διὸς . . . (3) καὶ τοῦτοις Δίδυμος μαρτυρεῖ, Φερεκύδην ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φάσκων οὕτω λέγειν· Φίλαιος δὲ ὁ Αἰαντος οἰκεῖ ἐν Ἀθήναις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ γίγνεται Δαῖκλος· τοῦ δὲ Ἐπίλκως· τοῦ δὲ Ἀκέστωρ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρήτωρ· τοῦ δὲ Οὐδῆλιος· τοῦ δὲ Αὐκῆς· τοῦ δὲ Τόφωρ· τοῦ δὲ Λαῖος· τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμήστωρ· τοῦ δὲ Τίσανδρος· [ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις· τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης·] τοῦ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις Παναθήναια ἐτέθη· <τοῦ δὲ Κύβελος> τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης, ὃς ὠκεῖσε Χερρόνησον.⁷ (4) μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Ἀσιωπίδι (4 F22).

Pherecydes would be a highly respectable authority, especially for the family history of the Philaēdae in the sixth and early fifth centuries,⁸ if only we could be sure that the manuscripts of Thucydides preserved anything like his exact words; but the quotation is at best at second hand (Didymus may have taken it from a text of Pherecydes' *Historiae*, but can we be sure that Marcellinus took it direct from Didymus?), and Jacoby's array of brackets shows how little confidence we can place in the accuracy of the scribes to whom we owe the text of Marcellinus. Even in the best preserved texts, genealogies are particularly liable to corruption by the interpolation of marginal glosses; and even if in the present case we could feel confident that Pherecydes himself wrote the relevant words ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθήναια ἐτέθη, we should still have to admit that even the most conscientious scribes have a great tendency to attach such parenthetical clauses to the wrong antecedent. In this case, the way in which some scribe restrained himself from following up what seems to have been a false start after Τίσανδρος may give us some small degree of confidence that the clause which concerns us is in fact in what for the scribe was the right place; but we have no reason to feel any confidence that Pherecydes put it there. Thus there are good grounds for hesitation before we claim Pherecydes's authority for the proposition that the Panathenaea was instituted in the archonship of Hippocleides;⁹ but even if we overcome our hesitation, it may still be reasonably felt that Cadoux's conclusion (*loc. cit.*) that Hippocleides was 'probably' archon in 566-5 does not err from excess of scepticism.

Even so, our authorities do not claim that Hippocleides had anything directly to do with the official recognition of the *agon gymnicus* at the Panathenaea in his year; so far our only

⁷ F. Jacoby, 'The First Athenian Prose-Writer' (*Atenarum*, 3 Ser. xiii (1947), 13-64 (= *Abh. zur griech. Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. H. Bloch, 1956, 100-49); he deals with F2 at pp. 30 (114) and 34 n. 31 (118). In the second passage the date of Hippocleides is given as 556-5; this was presumably a printer's error in the 1947 edition, but if so it is unfortunate that it has been perpetuated in the 1956 reprint.

⁸ *τιθέναι* is one of the regular words for 'to hold (a festival)', cf. such titles as *ἀθλο-θέτης*, *ἀγωνα-θέτης*, but in what we may call the chronographical style it may be used in the sense 'institute'. So too with *ἀγειν*, *ἀγερε*, *ποιεῖν*, in the passages already quoted from Harpocration, Jerome and the scholiast on Aristides.

positive statement is that of the scholiast on Aristides: τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησε—and indeed this is the only piece of positive evidence for any connexion between Peisistratus and the festival at all.⁹ Seltman indeed (*Greek Coins*², 1955, 49) asserted boldly that

'By 566 it is obvious that he (*sc.* Peisistratus) was already in complete control of the state machinery (*sc.* of Athens) including the state religion, for in that year, in the archonship of his friend Hippocleides, he founded the celebrated quadrennial festival known as the Greater Panathenaea',

thus flying in the face of all our other evidence about the chronology of Peisistratus's tyrannies; but even the more sober account of the events of 566-5 given by Mr. Hignett (*History of the Athenian Constitution*, 1952, 113) goes far beyond the evidence. L. Ziehen's suggestion (*R.E. s.v.* Panathenaea, 959), that Hippocleides may have founded the athletic games (which he quite fairly distinguishes from the great Panathenaea) and that Peisistratus may have given the great Panathenaea its later official form at some time during his tyranny, is more reasonable, but still contains a large element of conjecture.

It must be said in favour of Ziehen's view that it does not require us to suppose any personal or political connexion between Hippocleides and Peisistratus, as both Seltman and Hignett do. Hignett indeed (*op. cit.*, 326-31) has discussed such evidence as there is for some connexion between the two men, and has done his best to unravel the tangled skeins of information; but there is no need to suppose (as some do) that because both the Philaidae and the tyrant's family are said to have come from Brauron,¹⁰ the two families must have been on friendly terms or that Peisistratus enjoyed a more stable relationship with the Philaidae than he did with the Alemaeonidae. In any case, even if the reform of the Panathenaea is rightly assigned to the archonship of Hippocleides, and both are rightly dated 566-5, this gives only a chronological relationship between the reform of the Panathenaea and the year of Hippocleides; and many things may have happened in that year with which that forerunner of Gallio did not concern himself. Nor (*pace* Kern, *R.E. s.v.* Brauronia 2, Zschietzschmann, 59, and others) is there any evidence in the statement of Hesychius, *s.v.* Βραυρωνίους:

τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἤδον ῥαψωδοὶ ἐν Βραυρώνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς,

that the idea for the rhapsodic contests at the Panathenaea originated in Brauron, or in the brain of any Brauronian; there is nothing in Hesychius's words to show when the Brauronian practice originated or the source from which it was derived, what form it took, how long it went on, or what influence it exerted (if any). Hesychius's statement could just as well (and just as ill) be used to show that Hipparchus instituted recitations in Brauron after the model of those at the Panathenaea, as to show that the idea of the Panathenaic competition came from Brauron.

V. HIEROPOIOI AND ATHLOTHETAI

Evidence of a major innovation in the worship of Athena in the sixth century is to be found in a group of three dedications from the Acropolis (Nos. 326-8 Raubitschek), all carved on stelai and in lettering of very similar character and (presumably) date. All

⁹ Mr. Lewis has suggested to me that someone might seek to combine Plut. *Sol.* 1. 7 with Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 227 a ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις in an attempt to show that Peisistratus instituted the Panathenaic torch-race; but the torch-race was not a part of the *agon gymnicus*, and the probability is that it was held annually, as an introduction to the *παιρὺς* (cf. Plat. *Rep.* i. 328a).

¹⁰ Even this is doubtful: the author of the *Hipparchus* (224b) says that Peisistratus was ἐκ τῶν Φυλαίδων, and Plut. *Sol.* 10. 3 shows that this must mean 'of the deme Philaidae', not 'of the Philaid clan' (M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece*, 1951, 63); Miltiades' branch of the Philaid clan belonged to the deme Laciadae (Plut. *Cim.* 4, *Alcib.* 22).

three can be restored as having begun τὸν δρόμον ἐποίησαν τε θεῶι . . . ; in Nos. 326 and 327 there follows a list of names (eight in No. 326, according to Raubitschek's suggested restoration; of these six are certain), and No. 327 (like the otherwise much briefer No. 328) gives the name of a secretary. No. 326 ends, in Raubitschek's restoration,

[ἱεροποιοὶ τὸν ἀ]γῶ[να θέσ]αν πρῶτο[ι] γλαν[ο]σπίδι ρορ[εῖ],¹¹

this is based on the last line of No. 327:

[ἱεροπο]ιοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα θέσαν γλ[αυ]ροσπίδι ρορ[εῖ].

No. 328 omits both the list of names and this final formula. Raubitschek assumes that No. 326 must refer to the Panathenaea of 566 (πρῶτοι), and from the similarity of the letter-forms he argues that No. 327 refers to that of 562 or 558, and No. 328 to the next quadrennial festival after No. 327. But all this depends on a further assumption, that δρόμον in the opening formula of all three inscriptions, and ἀγών in the closing formula of Nos. 326 and 327, refer to the *agon gymnicus* of the chronographers; and this assumption is by no means self-evident, in view of the ambiguity of all such words as ἀγών, δρόμος, χορός, which may refer to an activity, the place where it takes place, or the people who take part in it. Even if Raubitschek is right in referring these inscriptions to the Panathenaea, there is no justification for his assertion (p. 353) that No. 326 'can be definitely dated in the year 566'; it has already been shown that the date 566 is, to put it mildly, far from certain, and the use of the word πρῶτοι in No. 326, while proving that it refers to the first of a series of ἀγῶνες, shows that the inscription may not have been cut until at least one further ἀγών in the series had already been held.¹² Perhaps it would be safer to formulate the matter thus: 'No. 326 probably refers to that celebration of the Panathenaea which is conventionally dated to 566, but may not have been carved until at least one further festival of the same type had been held; No. 327 refers to such a festival, and probably it and No. 326 were carved at the same time; No. 328 seems to refer to a simpler type of festival (without the ἀγών), and perhaps to one which intervened between those referred to in Nos. 326 and 327.' (It might be possible to continue this argument by suggesting that in the beginning the more important festival—as in Nos. 326 and 327—was held biennially; and that the quadrennial arrangement was introduced later on—but there is no evidence either way until we come to the fifth century, by which time the interval ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήραια is regularly referred to in official inscriptions as τὰ τέτταρα ἔτη.)

Only in No. 327 is there any reason to feel at all certain that the officers responsible for the conduct of the festival are the forerunners of the boards of *hieropoioi* who are known to us from inscriptions (see the references in the index to *IG* i². 1. v. for the fifth century); so far as the texts go, the other dedications might have been made by *athlothetai*, such as are known to us in connexion with the Panathenaea from the late fifth century onwards. Aristotle, describing the organisation of the Athenian state in his own time, mentions two boards of *hieropoioi*, whom the people select by lot: οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα (*Ath. Pol.* 54.6) and οἱ κατ'

¹¹ Raubitschek 310 comments: 'For *hieropoioi* it would be equally possible to restore *καὶ*, which would be more satisfactory from the metrical viewpoint.' The shorter word would, it seems, upset the distribution of letters on the stone, and hence other parts of Raubitschek's restorations; but since Raubitschek does not seem to regard this as a serious objection, it might perhaps be better to write *καὶ* rather than *καὶ*, and to fill the gap between *Ἀρτέμιο* and *καὶ* with *hieropoioi* suitably divided between lines 3 and 4.

¹² Professor Hampe has suggested to me the possibility that all three inscriptions were carved and set up at the same time, after the third festival of the series. I am inclined to think that the more summary form of No. 328 is to be understood as showing that it dealt with a less important occasion than the other two. If so, it would strengthen the case for the festival in question being the Panathenaea; Nos. 326 and 327 would refer to the 'great' Panathenaea, and No. 328 to the 'little' festival.

ἐνιαυτόν (*ibid.*, 7). The duties of the first board are not further described; those of the second are to conduct certain sacrifices and to administer all the *πεντετηρίδες* except the Panathenaea. Five *πεντετηρίδες* are then listed: [εἰς Δῆλον, Βραυρώνια, [- -]α, Ἐλευσίνα, Παναθήναια; after which Aristotle goes on καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγίγνεται.¹³ In Chapter 60 he deals with the arrangements for the Panathenaea:

(1) . . . κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτας δέκα ἄνδρας, ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης. οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσι τέτταρα ἔτη, καὶ διοικοῦσι τὴν τε πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν, καὶ τὸν πέπλον ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορεῖς ποιοῦνται μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἀποδιδόασιν. (2) συλλέγεται δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ τῶν μοριῶν· εἰσπράττει δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἐν οἷς αἱ μορίαὶ εἰσὶν ὁ ἄρχων . . . (3) συλλέξας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γιγνόμενον [sc. ἔλαιον] τοῖς ταμίαις παραδίδωσιν εἰς ἀκροπόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι πρότερον εἰς Ἀρείον πάγον, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαν παραδῶ τοῖς ταμίαις. οἱ δὲ ταμίαι τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον τηροῦσιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἀπομετροῦσι τοῖς ἀθλοθέταις, οἱ δ' ἀθλοθέταις τοῖς νικῶσι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἄθλα τοῖς μὲν τὴν μουσικὴν νικῶσιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσία, τοῖς δὲ τὴν εὐανδρίαν ἀσπίδες, τοῖς δὲ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔλαιον.

On this we may note: (1) that the most probable subject for κληροῦσι (as in 59.7, immediately before) is οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες; (2) that the *athlothetai* were in office for four years (we do not know exactly when their term of office began, but the probability is that they laid it down as soon as their conduct of the great Panathenaea had been officially approved, perhaps at the first regular meeting of the assembly after the celebration); (3) that by Παναθήναια here Aristotle means the great Panathenaea; this is indicated by the tenor of his account in this chapter, since he speaks of the making of the *peplos*, which was offered only at the great Panathenaea in historical times, and since the procedure for the collection of the oil by the archon of each year, and for its preservation and periodical issue by the *tamiai* to the *athlothetai*, is manifestly designed to provide for issues at intervals of more than a single year's duration. That this is so is confirmed not only by Aristotle's own words in 62.2:

ἀθλοθέται δ' ἐν Πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι τὸν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα μῆνα,
ὅταν ᾗ τὰ Παναθήναια,

which shows that τὰ Παναθήναια cannot refer to an *annual* event, but also by the almost contemporary inscription IG ii-iii². 334.31-2: τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικοῦντας τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν ποιεῖν τὴν πα[ρ]νηχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπειν ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι,

which shows that the celebration of the annual Panathenaea was still in the hands of the *hieropoioi*, presumably those κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, towards the end of the fourth century, and incidentally may help to explain the intrusive εἰ δὲ Παναθήναια in *Ath. Pol.* 54.7.

It now becomes necessary to inquire when the *athlothetai*, whose title shows that they were originally concerned only with the ἄθλα (i.e. the contests in which individuals competed for prizes—for the original sense of ἄθλον see S.L.(aser) in *L.f.g.E.* s.v. ἄεθλον), had taken over the whole administration of what was certainly the most important festival in the Athenian calendar, and from whom. The inscriptional evidence suggests that a board of *hieropoioi* was still in control of a *penteteris* in honour of Athena involving ἄθλα (and in connexion with which there is a mention of music) in the year 421-20 (IG i². 84 of that year);¹⁴ but *athlothetai*

¹³ For reasons to be explained below, I believe that the true interpretation of these words is: 'None of these [i.e. the four celebrations with which the *hieropoioi* are concerned] occurs in the same year'; if so, εἰ δὲ Παναθήναια must be an intrusion of a very common type, and we should perhaps read ἐν τῷ

αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γίγνεται. Most editors, however, take ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ to mean 'in the same place'.

¹⁴ I follow Deubner, *Altische Feste* (1932), 212 n. 6, in assuming that this *penteteris* was the great Panathenaea; the onus of proof seems to me to rest on those who wish to argue that it was not.

receiving 9 tal. ἐς Παναθήναια appear in the accounts for 415 (Tod, No. 75.61), and in the accounts for 410 we have not only *athlothetai* receiving 6 tal. ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα (Tod, No. 83.6-7), but also *hieropoioi* κατ' [ἐ]νιαυτόν receiving 5114 dr. ἐς τὴν ἐκατόμβην (*ibid.*, 7-8). All these payments were made in the second prytany of the year; in the case of that for 415 the actual date is given (20th day of the prytany). Professor B. D. Meritt calculated (*Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century*, 1928, 93-4) that in 415 Pryt. ii. 20 must have fallen on 25 or 26 Hecatombaeon, i.e. two or three days before the main celebration of the Panathenaea on 28 Hecatombaeon; and he inferred from this that the payment to the *athlothetai* must have been to meet expenses for the celebration of 415 (i.e. the 'little' Panathenaea). He has repeated the inference at least twice since then (*AJA* xxxiv, 1930, 143; *Athenian Financial Documents*, 1932, 173), but without producing any new arguments; and Tod (*op. cit.*, 190-1) accepts his view that the payment was intended 'for the Lesser Panathenaea of 415', though without seeming to be entirely satisfied that the payments were in fact made, as Meritt holds, before the celebration (Tod qualifies this part of the sentence with 'apparently'). However, the weakness of Meritt's view lies not in his calculations, but in the inference which he draws from them; we may take it from him that the payment to the *athlothetai* ἐς Παναθήναια on Pryt. ii. 20 of 415 was in fact made on 25 or 26 Hecatombaeon without accepting his view that the payment was intended to meet expenses of the Panathenaic celebration of 415. Quite apart from the fact that this passage, if taken in the sense which Meritt gives it, becomes the only passage anywhere in a fifth-century inscription in which Παναθήναια alone refers to the annual Panathenaea, and the only direct evidence at all that the *athlothetai* were ever concerned with the annual Panathenaea, it need only be said that the suggestion that the *athlothetai* in 415 received a sum of 9 tal. to enable them to make preparations for a festival to be held at most two or three days later is administrative nonsense. Speaking generally, a payment of this kind may be either a reimbursement of expenses already incurred or an 'imprest' to enable impending expenses to be met. If these payments in the second prytany are reimbursements it is curious, to say the least of it, that the 'little' Panathenaea of 415 should have cost 50 per cent more than the great Panathenaea of 410 (even allowing for the special difficulties of the latter year),¹³ and perhaps even stranger that a board of *athlothetai* which could let itself be as much as 9 tal. out of pocket could not wait until the festival was over and all the accounts could be settled together. But indeed the proposition that a board of ordinary Athenian officials (there is no suggestion that the *athlothesia* was or had ever been a liturgy) could bear expenses amounting to at least 9 tal. out of pocket has only to be stated for its absurdity to appear; and the conclusion must therefore be that these payments in the second prytany were by way of imprest, and if so they can only have been for a celebration of the great Panathenaea (as indeed is specifically stated in the accounts for 410). A much better suggestion than Meritt's is, I think, that already in the Panathenaic period 418-14 the *athlothetai* were being appointed on much the same basis as at the time when the *Ath. Pol.* was written (i.e. for a four-year term, probably from just after one great Panathenaea until just after the next), that their duties required them to maintain a substantial imprest throughout their term of office, and that the normal time for replenishing this imprest to meet the expenses of the coming year was in the second prytany (which would normally begin a few days after the celebration of the great Panathenaea, though it could not be relied upon to preserve the same chronological relationship to each of the annual festivals in the cycle). If so the 6 tal. of 410 would be an initial payment towards the preparations for 406, and the 9 tal. of 415 would be a fourth (and perhaps final) payment towards the cost of the preparations for 414—when naturally a rather larger sum would be required than in the first year of a cycle. If that is so, the fact (if fact it is)

¹³ Consider the figures in *IG* ii-iii², 334; the inscription deals explicitly with the arrangements for the annual Panathenaea, and speaks of 'the forty

minae' when discussing the provision of beasts for the sacrifice; 500 dr. are allowed besides for the *pannychis*.

that in 415 the payment to the *athlothetai* was made a couple of days before the 'little' Panathenaea must be regarded as the merest accident of intercalation; and the omission of the words τὰ μεγάλα may be accounted for by the suggestion that the book-keeper for 415 felt (as his successor for 410 did not) that no one needed to be told which Panathenaea the *athlothetai* administered.

If the foregoing arguments are sound, the transfer of responsibility for the great Panathenaea from the *hieropoioi* to the *athlothetai* must have occurred after 421-20 but in time for the celebration of 414, i.e. at latest just after the celebration of 418. The reason for the change is perhaps to be found in the institution (nominally at least a re-institution) of the Delian *penteteris* in 426-5 (Thuc. iii, 104.2); it may reasonably be suggested that the celebration of two *penteterides* in a single year was found to ask too much of the *hieropoioi*, and that it was therefore thought best to transfer the established (and more important) festival to a separate board, leaving the *hieropoioi* to administer the Delian festival. (The suggestion may be hazarded that it was the scale of Nicias's preparations for the celebration of the Delia in 418-17—Plut. *Nic.* 3—which led to the new arrangement.) It is *a priori* almost a certainty that a board of *athlothetai* had existed from the first institution of *athla* at the Panathenaea (i.e. from '566'), as subordinates to the *hieropoioi*, and it is conceivable that the board's tenure was more than annual from the beginning; if so, the elevation of the *athlothetai* about 418 to be the official controllers of the whole festival may have been little more than the recognition of what had been for many years an administrative reality. But in view of Raubitschek's words (p. 355): 'Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 125 ff.) has produced good evidence that the office of the *athlothetai* was created in the middle of the fifth century, and that the *athlothetai* superseded the *hieropoioi*', it must be emphasised (a) that our only direct evidence for the existence of *athlothetai* in any capacity before 415 has to be extracted from a passage in Plutarch's life of Pericles (13.11—to be discussed in the next section of this paper), (b) that there is no evidence that the *athlothetai* were in full administrative control of any Panathenaic festival before 415, and (c) that Mommsen's only serious evidence that the change took place about the middle of the fifth century is a far too early dating of the inscription which we now know as IG i². 84 (*Feste* 125 n. 4: 'Die Inschr. wird der Mitte des V. Jahrh., 440 folg., zugewiesen').

VI. PERICLES AND THE PANATHENAEA: (1) THE ODEION

Plutarch's account of what has been called 'Perikles' Panathenaic Law of 442 B.C.' (H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, 1952, 30) is a parenthesis in his discussion of Pericles' contributions to the cultural life of Athens, and especially of Pericles' building activities. In 13.7-12 he deals successively with the following buildings: the Parthenon, the Telesterion at Eleusis (both 13.7), the (middle) Long Wall (13.7-8), the Odeion (13.9-11), and the Propylaea (13.12). The passage dealing with the Odeion runs as follows:

(9) Τὸ δ' Ὀιδεῖον, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέφει περικλυτὸς καὶ καταπτεὶς ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατούντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους.

(10) διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις (fr. 71 K.) παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν·
ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὲ
προσέρχεται [Περικλέης] τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.

(11) φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐφηφίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἰρεθεὶς καθότι χρή τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ καθαρίζειν. ἐθεώντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν Ὀιδεῖῳ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

If this account is compared with that of the other buildings, it will be seen that, although it is less specific on one point (the architect's name is not given), it is in every other respect the most elaborate. In the case of the Long Wall, it is true, we are given an anecdote (Socrates' claim to have heard Pericles introduce a motion about it, *cf.* Plat. *Gorg.* 455e) and a quotation from Cratinus (fr. 300K.); but the Odeion is the only building which is described in any detail (though I do not think that even the most attentive reader would gather, either from Plutarch or from Cratinus, that the building was in fact rectangular in plan), and also the only one of which it is explicitly said that Pericles acted as ἐπιστάτης for it (though καὶ τοῦτω implies that he must have acted in the same capacity for the Long Wall, and perhaps for the Parthenon and Telesterion as well).¹⁶ It may be that Plutarch felt it necessary to describe the Odeion in some detail because it was no longer to be seen, having been burnt down early in the first century B.C., and perhaps also because its shape was in some way (though it is not at all clear in what way) relevant to the quotation from Cratinus's *Thracian Women* which follows immediately after; but the absence of the architect's name from what is otherwise so well-informed an account is worth emphasising, particularly in view of Vitruvius's statement that it was Themistocles who 'roofed in' (*pertexit*) the Odeion, using stone columns and ships' masts and yards from the Persian spoils (*de Arch.* v. 9.1 = Hill², p. 273).

As between Themistocles and Pericles archaeology is strictly neutral; the Greek Archaeological Society excavated the site of the Odeion from 1914 onwards (there is a convenient summary of the results in Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², 1931, 306-8), but found no evidence by which the date of the fifth-century building could be determined. Evidence was found that there had been stone columns and a great deal of wood in the construction of the building; but there was nothing to show how long the Odeion had been completed before the construction of the 'Periclean' theatre (Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus at Athens*, 1946, 15 ff.), which Professor Dinsmoor is now inclined to date to the last quarter of the fifth century (*Studies presented to David Moore Robinson*, i, 1951, 317-18). Nevertheless, there are certain arguments which can be urged in favour of the ascription of the earliest building on the Odeion site to Themistocles rather than to Pericles. In the first place, the construction of a building in imitation of the Great King's tent and the use in it of spars 'ex spoliis Persicis' seems more likely in the seventies when the capture of Mardonius's tent after Plataea was still a living memory and when the spars from Salamis (and Mycale?) were still sound, than in the forties of the fifth century; and there is some evidence besides that the Odeion may have been in use early in the century. Hesychius (s.v.) defines ᾠδεῖον as

τάπος ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἡγωνίζαντο,

and it is usual to connect this with the anecdote preserved by Suidas s.v. Πρατίνας (π 2230 Adler):

... ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τούτου συνέβη τὰ ἱκρία, ἐφ' ᾧν ἐστήκεισαν οἱ θεαταί, πεσεῖν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου θέατρον ὑποδομήθη Ἀθηναίοις.

The evidence about these ἱκρία has been collected and discussed by Pickard-Cambridge (*op. cit.*, 10-15); and it seems fairly safe to conclude that this accident took place at some time in the first thirty years of the fifth century.¹⁷ It is therefore possible that we should

¹⁶ In 13.14 Plutarch applies the verb ἐπιστάειν to Pheidias, whom he has already described in 13.6 as Pericles' 'general overseer' (ἐπίσκοπος πάντων).

¹⁷ *Pace* Wilhelm Schmid (*Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, ii, 1934, 169 n. 7); there is no necessary connexion between this anecdote and Suidas's preceding statement that

Pratinas competed against Choerilus and Aeschylus in Ol. 70 (500-496). It should be noted that Hesychius does not say to which theatre he refers; he might be speaking of the 'Periclean' (or even of the Lycurgean) one.

recognise the following stages in the pre-Periclean evolution of the Odeion: (1) an open (or perhaps, if we insist on Vitruvius's use of 'per-texit', partially roofed) area in which musical contests were held, probably from some time in the sixth century onwards; (2) the roofing in of this area by Themistocles, not long after Plataea; (3) the disuse of the Odeion for musical contests at about the time when the new θέατρον was built (perhaps about 470)—the musical contests were either transferred to the theatre or discontinued (Hesychius's words would bear either interpretation). If this were so, Pericles' contribution to the history of the Odeion would not be its first building (which, it may be noted, neither Plutarch nor Cratinus explicitly attributes to him) but its repair and restoration to its original use.

The next problem is to date Pericles' activity in connexion with the Odeion; and here we are entirely dependent on Plutarch. In 13.7 and 9 and again in 13.12-14 he seems to be working on information which, though incomplete (it omits, for example, the 'Theseum' and the temple of Ares) and at times rather anecdotal, is entirely factual and circumstantial; and it might fairly be argued that the order of the buildings (Parthenon, Telesterion, Middle Wall, Odeion, Propylaea) is to be taken as chronological. If so, Pericles should be taken to have begun work on the Odeion at some time between 447-6 (Parthenon, cf. Hill³ B43, p. 297) and 437-6 (Propylaea, cf. Hill³ B65, p. 307); but since we cannot date the Telesterion, the Middle Wall, or the Odeion, it is best to be cautious about this. It is usually believed that we can come nearer to the date at which Pericles' work on the Odeion was completed, and the building itself brought into use, by inference from Plutarch's quotation from Cratinus's *Thracian Women*. It is argued that the words ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται are a reference to the ostracism of 443, in which Thucydides son of Melesias was ostracised; and hence that the play was produced in the spring of 442, by which time the Odeion must have been finished—or why would Pericles be wearing it as a hat? But this is to assume too much: in the first place, as Wilamowitz pointed out long ago (*Hermes*, xiv, 1879, 319 n. 3), there is no necessary connexion between the ostracism of 443 and Cratinus's reference to the passing-by of the ostrakon (the question whether or not ostracism was to be resorted to was put to the vote every year, and Pericles may have been in danger in other years besides 443 without our ever hearing of it); and in the second, there is no reason to suppose that the chronological connexion between Pericles' escape from ostracism and Cratinus's reference to it is anything like as close as believers in the conventional dating imply. In any case, as the discussions of this fragment by Wilhelm Schmid (*Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, iv, 1946, 78-9) and J. T. M. F. Pieters (*Cratinus*, 1946, 81 ff.) show, there is no evidence, apart from the assumed connexion with the ostracism of 443, which would entitle us to date the *Thracian Women* to 442; and Paul Geissler (*Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, 1925, 21-2) has argued, following Wilamowitz, that a date between 435 and 430 would best suit the evidence of the other surviving fragments of the play.¹⁸

Thus the quotation from Cratinus leaves the date at which Pericles' work on the Odeion was completed as vague as it was before; and we must turn to 13.11 in search of further enlightenment. In this section there is a marked change of tone: whereas in the previous sections (7-10) the facts are stated without partisanship, and the quotations from Cratinus are inserted with a minimum of comment, φιλοτιμούμενος returns us for a moment to the less favourable atmosphere of Ch. 12 and the comments of Pericles' ἐχθροί; and something of the same less favourable view of Pericles' proceedings may perhaps be found without too much use of the imagination in the words διέταξε . . . καθότι χρή τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀδελεῖν

¹⁸ J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, i (1957), 45 n. f, argues once again for 442; he shows that Wilamowitz and Geissler relied too much on the mention of Euathlus (fr. 78: cf. Gomme, *Thuc.*, i, p. 374 n. 1); but he fails to appreciate the weakness of the argument from ostracism; quite apart from

the fact that some people were ostracised without our knowing when or why (e.g. Callias son of Didymias—[Andoc.] in *Alcib.* 32; cf. n. 3 above), an ostracism could easily be held in any year without anyone being actually ostracised.

ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ καθαρίζειν also. Apart from this, however, the section is mainly factual, and so long as we do not try to look below the surface of Plutarch's words, a clear picture of Pericles' actions emerges: (1) he successfully moves a decree that there shall be musical contests at the Panathenaea; (2) he is elected *athlothes* for these contests; (3) in this capacity he lays down rules for the conduct of the competitors; (4) on this occasion and henceforward the Athenians hold their musical contests in the Odeion. It will be seen that there is no question here of any 'Panathenaic Law' laying down the manner in which the contests were to be conducted; even those who accept the view that in the fifth century νόμος and ψήφισμα were convertible terms (*cf.* Hignett, *op. cit.*, 300, 304) must admit that Plutarch distinguishes carefully between (1) the decree moved by Pericles for the holding of a μουσικῆς ἀγών at the Panathenaea and (2) the διάταγμα regulating the conduct of the ἀγών which Pericles issued after he had been elected ἀθλοθέτης. It should be noticed that, if Plutarch's account is dependable, the *athlothes* can hardly have been selected by lot in Pericles' time; if they were, Pericles must have known how to 'work the oracle'.

Plutarch does not make it at all clear what we are to take as the starting-point of the series of events described in 13.11: if his words are interpreted strictly, there is nothing for the first τότε in that section to refer back to, and it is only by reading a good deal between the lines that we may take this to mean (as the conventional interpretation silently, and perhaps unconsciously, assumes) 'when Pericles' work on the Odeion was nearing completion, and the arrangements for its (re-)inauguration were under consideration in the assembly'.¹⁹ But whenever it was, Pericles 'then for the first time had a decree passed that a series of musical competitions should be held at the Panathenaea'. Strictly speaking, I suppose, the adverbial πρώτον could be limited in its effect to ἐψηφίσαστο, and taken to mean that Pericles later took other action about musical contests at the Panathenaea (e.g. διέταξεν κτλ.); but it seems more natural, and more in keeping with the importance which Plutarch evidently attaches to the matter, to take πρώτον as qualifying the whole phrase ἐψηφίσαστο . . . ἄγεσθαι, and to interpret Plutarch's words as a claim that musical contests at the Panathenaea were a Periclean innovation. This, at any rate, is what Plutarch has generally been taken to mean; but the trouble is that it is demonstrably false. Plutarch or his source²⁰ may have had before him a copy of Pericles' decree, and have derived from it the impression that this was a new departure; but this can hardly have been the impression which Pericles intended to convey, since the evidence now to be discussed proves beyond all possibility of cavil that musical contests were being held at the Panathenaea in Pericles' own childhood and youth.

(2) THE MUSICAL CONTESTS

The evidence that there were musical contests at the Panathenaea in the sixth and early fifth centuries is provided by the existence of several Panathenaic amphorae whose style shows them to be of that period, each bearing in addition to the picture of the armed Athena a picture representing a musical contest. I have listed all of these which are known to me, together with certain other pieces which appear to be relevant, in the appendix to this paper, where details will be found. None of these early amphorae (Appendix, Nos. 2-7) is certainly a prize amphora; No. 2 may have been, but Nos. 3-7 all lack the official inscription ΤΟΝ

¹⁹ For what I regard as the true interpretation of τότε, see below, p. 41.

²⁰ An up-to-date study of Plutarch's sources for the life of Pericles is much needed. Ziegler (*RE*, s.v. Plutarchos 2, 914) assumes that Plutarch's quotations from comedy are at second hand; Professor Gomme (*Commentary on Thucydides*, i, 1945, 77 ff.) suggests that Plutarch got his quotations from his own reading. In 13.7-12 the only statements of

fact which Plutarch cannot have derived from his own observation are those about the design of the Odeion; and his assertion about Pericles' φιλοτιμία may be his own interpretation of the facts. There was a commentary by Callistratus on Cratinus's *Thracian Women* (*Ath.* xi. 495a; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 20); it may be that Cratinus's reference to the slow progress of the middle wall (fr. 300) also belongs to this play.

AΘENEΘEN AΘAION and are considerably smaller than the inscribed amphorae. Whatever the precise function of these smaller amphorae, their existence proves conclusively that H. von Prott was justified in arguing from R. Heinze's publication of No. 6 (Bonn inv. 43—*Bonner Studien R. Kekulé gewidmet*, 1890, 244) that the Panathenaic contest for aulodes at least 'älter ist als Perikles' and that therefore 'Plutarch Pericl. 13 einen Irrtum begangen hat' (*Bursian*, cii, 1899, 108). Prott's view was attacked by L. Ziehen (*Bursian*, clxxii, 1915, 47); but Ziehen in his turn was taken to task by E. Preuner (*Hermes*, lvii, 1922, 94-5), who (supported by a formidable array of authorities—*ibid.*, 91 n. 1) firmly wrote 'Es erübrigt sich heute, und hätte sich schon damals [*sc.* when Ziehen was writing] erübrigt, nochmals die Zeugen für den Irrtum Plutarchs und das hohe Alter auch des musischen Agons zu vernehmen.' Preuner was, unfortunately, too optimistic; the witnesses known to him must be put in the box once more, together with some who will appear for the first time—and it may be that this further examination will be found to result in a clearer understanding of the nature of Plutarch's 'mistake'.

The representations on these early vases (Nos. 2-7) are confined to three, or perhaps four, types of musical competition. (i) B.M. B139 (No. 3) shows a man with a cithara, but it is not possible to tell whether he is singing to it or simply playing it, i.e. he may be either a *κιθαροδός* or a *κιθαριστής*. (ii) B.M. B141 and Bonn inv. 43 (Nos. 4 and 6) show an aulete and another man facing him, both standing on a low platform, and may be taken to represent competitors in a contest for *αὐλοδία*.²¹ (iii) The Manchester amphora (No. 7; I owe the reference to Professor T. B. L. Webster) has an aulete performing independently, and not as an accompanist. The Acropolis fragment (No. 2) and the Castle Ashby amphora (No. 5) may belong to either (ii) or (iii). So we have evidence of competitions for citharodes or citharists, for aulodes and for auletes; and these are exactly the four classes who are represented on the fragmentary fourth-century prize list, *IG* ii-iii², 2311 (4 *κιθαρωιδούς*, 12 *ἀνδράσι αὐλωιδούς*, 15 *ἀνδράσι κιθαρισταῖς*, 20 *αὐληταῖς*). Lines 1-3 of this inscription deal with another class of competitors, the description of which has been lost; it has been suggested that line 1 may have read [*ῥαψωιδούς*], but there cannot be any certainty about this.²² What is of more importance is that the inscription confirms Aristotle's information (*Ath. Pol.* 60.3) that the prizes for victors in *μουσική* were *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσία*, and gives the value of the prizes, the highest recorded in this inscription being that for the first prize in *κιθαρωδία*, a gold wreath worth 1,000 drachmae and silver to the value of 500 drachmae.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to be certain how far back the practice of giving musical victors their prizes in cash and precious metal rather than in oil extends. It seems that the citharodic crown for 402²³ (also of the value of 1,000 drachmae) was not awarded, but dedicated instead in the Hecatompedon (cf. *IG* ii-iii², 1388.36); but there may have been big changes at the restoration of the democracy in 403-2, and the existence of the Leningrad prize amphora (Appendix, No. 1), together with the element of doubt about the amphora to which the Sikelos fragment (No. 2) belonged, makes it impossible to argue with complete confidence that the practice of awarding gold and silver to musical victors antedates 402.

²¹ B.M. B188 (No. 9) shows two stages in a similar contest: A, the contest proper; B, either a preliminary address or the adjudication. A. Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.* 1935, 444, describes B.M. B141 (No. 4) as 'Rhapsode u. Flötenspieler'; it would be very convenient if he were right, but I do not know of any evidence that rhapsodes ever employed an aulos accompaniment.

²² Rhapsodic competitions are known only to the literary tradition; the rhapsode on the vase by the Cleophrades painter, so superbly illustrated by Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, fig. 3, is not shown as

a competitor and his recitation does not come from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* (it may not even be in hexameters, unless he is licentiously lengthening the first syllable of *Τῖρση*). The argument for the primacy of the rhapsodes seems to depend mainly on the order of words in Plato, *Lysis*, vi, 764d: *ῥαψωδῶν καὶ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν*. If there is anything in this, one should surely complete Plato's list by inserting <καὶ αὐλοδῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν> after *κιθαρωδῶν*.

²³ The evidence for this date is to be published in 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. by Mr. Woodward (information from Mr. D. M. Lewis).

However, since the Leningrad amphora must have been awarded to a victorious citharode at one of the celebrations of the Panathenaea during the Archidamian War (430, 426, 422 are all possibilities), it is possible that it may not be entirely representative. On the one hand, it could well be urged that between 431 and 421 Athens had more urgent uses for her gold and silver than the bestowal of prizes on victorious musicians, and that the use of oil for that purpose should be taken to have been a war measure.²⁴ On the other, it might be argued that it was just in the time of the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica that it would be most difficult to ensure the regular collection of oil from the sacred olives; and hence that the use of gold and silver may have developed (especially during the period of the Decelean War) as a substitute for oil. Clearly no argument so double-edged can lead to certainty either way; but there is one point in favour of regarding the use of oil, instead of gold and silver, for the musical prizes as a crisis-measure: it is reasonable to suppose that the musical contests at the Panathenaea were organised from a very early date with the aim of attracting the leading professionals, and if Arion may be taken as typical we may feel sure that the great virtuosi would be more likely to prefer gold and silver, in view of their greater portability, their greater ease of exchange and (especially in the case of gold wreaths) their publicity value, over amphorae of olive oil, even if the cash value of the oil which the amphorae contained was equal to (or even somewhat higher than) that of the gold and silver.²⁵

Thus we have a group of vases attesting the existence of musical contests at the Panathenaea and covering a period from about 560 B.C. to the early years of the fifth century (Appendix, Nos. 2-7), after which there is a gap until about 430 (No. 1, and cf. No. 11). The literary evidence, except in respect of the rhapsodic contests, is a good deal less specific and less easily datable than the ceramic evidence; but (again excepting the rhapsodic contests) it seems to point in the same direction. (i) Contests for rhapsodes at the Panathenaea are attested for the latter part of the fifth century by Plato (*Ion* 530b) and for the late fourth century by Lycurgus (*in Leoc.* 102); the dialogue *Hipparchus* (228b) asserts that these contests were still being conducted in the author's own day²⁶ under rules laid down by Hipparchus, son of the tyrant Peisistratus, and Lycurgus implies that the contests had been established in the distant past. Isocrates (*Paneg.* 159) speaks of Homeric recitations *ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἀθλοῖς*, implying that they went back at least to the time of the Persian Wars; and Diogenes Laertius (i. 57) asserts that the contests were held under rules established by Solon—but neither he nor Isocrates specifically mentions the Panathenaea. I have discussed all these passages in a previous article (*TAPA*, lxxxvi, 1955, 7-15); and though I am less certain now than I then was that Solon cannot possibly have had anything to do with the establishment of competitions at the Panathenaea (Hignett, *op. cit.*, 316-21, shows that the chronological difficulty is by no means insurmountable), still, in view of the readiness with which the Athenians ascribed all *nomoi*, of whatever date, to Solon, I remain of the opinion that Solon could more easily have supplanted Hipparchus in the tradition than Hipparchus could have supplanted Solon. At the same time, the matter is not quite so

²⁴ But not as one of economy, except of 'critical' materials; Professor Hampe has demonstrated to me, in a calculation which I hope he will publish, that the cash value of the oil bestowed on the victors in the athletic and equestrian contests was at least comparable with that of the gold and silver awarded to the musicians.

²⁵ It is possible that those who believe, with Seltman (*Greek Coins*², 1955, 61), that there is some connexion between the first Attic coins bearing Athena's head and the Panathenaea, may be right, in spite of the doubts of W. Schwabacher (*Gnomon*, xcix, 1957, 101—reviewing Seltman); it is conceivable

that one of the purposes of the new issue was to provide an appropriate medium for the payment of cash prizes to the musical victors. But this cannot be used to prove the date at which this coinage was first issued; only when the date of the coinage has been settled by proper numismatic arguments can we think of using it to settle any problems about the history of the Panathenaea.

²⁶ For a summary of the questions at issue, see H. Leisegang, *RE s.v. Platon*, 2367; the possibilities range from the young Plato (so P. Friedländer, *Platon*, ii, 1930, 117-27) to someone writing about 320 (Wilamowitz).

simple as I supposed at the time when I was writing the article just referred to. (1) A reconsideration of the passage in the *Hipparchus* strongly suggests to me that Hipparchus's action should be understood not as the first institution of rhapsodic contests, but as a re-organisation of existing contests on a new basis. (2) W. Zschietzschmann has adduced clear evidence from Attic vase-painting 'about 560' that something had recently happened to stimulate Athenian interest in stories which we know to have been told in epic poetry (especially in the 'cyclic' epics); and though one should perhaps be more careful than he is about identifying episodes as 'Homeric' and should allow a somewhat larger margin of error than he is inclined to allow in the dating of early sixth-century vase-painting, he may very well be right in his suggestion that this influential something was the institution of rhapsodic contests at the Panathenaea. (3) Both Professor Hampe and Professor Webster have drawn my attention to presumably 'Iliadic' scenes on vase-paintings considerably older than 530 B.C., and though some of these pieces imply little as to specifically Athenian interest in the *Iliad* (since they were found far from Attica), they do create a case for further inquiry into the degree to which, at different periods in the sixth century, Attic vase-painters and their patrons were acquainted with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.²⁷ But until this inquiry has been made, I think it can still be justifiably maintained that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in substantially the form in which we now read them, first became *currently* known at Athens about 530 B.C. Looked at in this light, the literary evidence suggests that competitions for rhapsodes were first instituted in the sixth century (the ceramic evidence, if it is rightly interpreted by Zschietzschmann, would narrow this down to 'towards the end of the first half of the century'), with rules which allowed the competing rhapsodes to choose any episode at random (even Hesiod and Archilochus may have been included in the permitted repertoire, cf. Plato, *Ion* 531a); that Hipparchus reorganised the competitions, with stricter rules, perhaps about 530; and that the contests continued in this revised form at least until the latter part of the fourth century. But without contemporary evidence definitely connecting rhapsodic contests with the Panathenaea in the sixth century, all this remains very much in the air; the best that can be said is that there is no proof that it was not so (and it may not be entirely superfluous to point out that this is by no means the same thing as 'there is proof that it was so').

(ii) The literary evidence for auletes at the Panathenaea is confined to a single reference in the introductory scholium to Pindar's twelfth *Pythian*, written for a victory won by the aulete Midas of Acragas in 490 (or less probably 486); after recording these two Pythian victories the scholiast goes on *φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Παναθηναία νενικηκέναι*. This may be nothing but an inference from Pindar's allusion to Athena's discovery of αὐλητική (*Pyth.* xii. 6-8); but if the victory was won at all, it should belong to the second or third decade of the fifth century, i.e. to the same period as the Sikelos fragment (Appendix, No. 2) and the Manchester amphora (No. 7). (iii) The presence of aulodes at the Panathenaea is mentioned by the treatise *On Music* ascribed to Plutarch in such a way as to suggest that the practice was an early one; but the text (*De Mus.* 8 = *Mor.* 1134a) is too ambiguous for complete certainty:

Καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὃν φησιν Ἰππῶναξ Μίμνερμον ἀλλήσαι. ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ ἔλεγεια μέμελοποιημένα οἱ ἀλωδοὶ ᾄδον· τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων γραφή ἢ περὶ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἀγώνος.

Here the ambiguity concerns the words ἐν ἀρχῇ; on the face of it this phrase should be an explanation of the claim that the Cradian nome was ἀρχαῖος, but the reference to the Παναθηναίων γραφή ἢ περὶ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἀγώνος suggests that the author, be he Plutarch or

²⁷ Until the publication of *ABV* such an inquiry was all but impossible; even now, it could only be carried out satisfactorily by a person who was qualified

to distinguish the truly Homeric from the cyclic, and who had a fully equipped archaeological and philological reference library at his command.

another, is deriving his information from some official document laying down the rules for the Panathenaic competition in αὐλῳδία, i.e. something like the δῖαταγμα ascribed to Pericles in *Pericl.* 13.11. If so, the reference need not be to the sixth-century practice at the Panathenaea; but this is not important, since the London and Bonn amphorae (Nos. 4 and 6) sufficiently attest the recognition of αὐλῳδία at the Panathenaea in the sixth century. (iv) *Κιθαρῳδοί* are mentioned on two low bases for bronze statues from the Acropolis (Nos. 84 and 86 Raubitschek, both dated about 500 B.C.); it is not certain that the dedicators, Alcibiades and Opsiades (both bear good Attic names, cf. *Prosop. Att.* 604-5, 11505-7), had been victorious at the Panathenaea, but it is probable that, had they been commemorating victories won outside Athens, they would have said so (cf. Nos. 76, 164 Raubitschek), and the scale of their dedications suggests that they had won victories in a major competition. Nor does Hesychius's reference to citharodic contests in the Odeion (s.v. ᾠδεῖον, discussed above, p. 34) necessarily refer to the Panathenaea, though here again the Panathenaic reference is probable. Only the London amphora (Appendix, No. 3) proves that there were contests for performers on the cithara at the Panathenaea in the sixth century; and it has already been pointed out that the performer here may be either a citharode or a citharist; there is no written evidence for citharists at the Panathenaea before IG ii-iii². 2311. For citharodic competitions in the second half of the fifth century there is some written evidence in the scholia to Aristophanes: (1) Schol. *Birds* 11, on Execesides (who in spite of his fine old Athenian name was apparently an interloper), tells us that he was a citharode who had won at the Pythian and Carnean games, and twice at the Panathenaea; and (2) in the *Clouds*, the Δίκαιος Λόγος is recalling what musical education was like in the good old days, and goes on:

969 εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτ' ἢ κάμψαιέν τινα καμπήν,
οἷας οἱ νῦν τὰς κατὰ Φρύνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους,
ἐπετρίβετε τυπτόμενος πολλὰς ὡς τὰς Μοῦσας ἀφανίζων,

on which the scholiast comments:

ὁ Φρύνις κιθαρῳδὸς Μιτυληναῖος. οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ πρῶτος κιθαρίσαι παρ' Ἀθηναίους καὶ νικῆσαι Παναθηναίους ἐπὶ Καλλίου (Καλλιμάχου Μείεω) ἀρχοντος.

Whatever we may think of the claim that Phrynīs was πρῶτος κιθαρίσαι παρ' Ἀθηναίους, it is unlikely that he attained to the notoriety which he already enjoyed at Athens in 423 without having won at least one Panathenaic victory. The words of Aristophanes' scholiast, which are taken *verbatim* from the much longer account of Phrynīs to be found in Suidas, s.v. Φρύνις (p. 761 Adler), clearly imply that such a victory was won, and that the date of it was on record. Unfortunately, the date, as reproduced by Suidas and the scholiast, is open to question. There is no reason to think that individual contests (whether in athletics or in horsemanship or in music) were held at any but the great Panathenaea; and it must be noted that of the known archonships of a Callias in the fifth century (456-5, 412-11, 406-5) only the last coincided with the holding of the great Panathenaea. It would seem, therefore, that the name Καλλίου may require emendation; and Meier's suggested Καλλιμάχου (archon 446-5) gives a date for Phrynīs's victory which is plausible in itself, since 446-5 was the first year of a Panathenaic cycle, and which is at least reconcilable with the other information about Phrynīs's dates which is provided by Suidas. According to this authority, Phrynīs, who had previously been an aulode, was taught to play the cithara by Aristocleides, a citharist who claimed to be descended from Terpander, and whose ἀκμή was κατὰ τὰ Μηδικά. It is likely that the relationship between Aristocleides and Phrynīs began in their native Lesbos, and Phrynīs may have been only an adolescent when Aristocleides first took his musical

education in hand; but when all reasonable allowances have been made, it seems hard to argue that a man who was believed to have been in his prime about 480 (as Aristocleides is said to have been) would be taking pupils much after 450.

If this argument is sound, and Phrynīs's Panathenaic victory is reasonably dated to the great Panathenaea of 446, we may perhaps go on with rather more confidence to consider the claim that he was 'the first to play the cithara among the Athenians'. As it stands, this is manifestly untrue; but it is no more so than the claim that Pericles first instituted musical contests at the Panathenaea—and it is at least possible that both claims may derive from a common misconception. We have already seen that the ancient evidence, both archaeological and literary, about competitions for performers on the cithara and aulos at the Panathenaea refers either to an early period (before about 470 B.C.) or to a later period (after about 450); and there is therefore at least a possibility that these contests were discontinued, for some reason unknown to us, at about the time when (if Hesychius's words have been rightly interpreted) the Odeion ceased to be used for rhapsodic and citharodic (and perhaps for other musical) competitions.²⁵ If that is so, Pericles' decree may have been for the re-institution of these competitions, rather than for their first institution; but it may well have been so worded that later readers gathered the impression that such contests had never been held before, and this impression would obviously be strengthened if the victor-lists began with the Periclean re-institution. That this may have been the case is suggested not only negatively, by the absence of reliable information about victors before Pericles' time (e.g. the doubts of Pindar's scholiast about Midas of Acragas), but also positively, by the information about Phrynīs; if he was the first citharode to be named in a chronological list of Panathenaic victors, the idea that 'he seems to have been the first to play the cithara among the Athenians' would be readily accounted for. It may not therefore be entirely unreasonable to argue that Pericles' Panathenaic reforms were instituted in time to take effect at the great Panathenaea of 446; and that they involved (1) a decree for the holding of competitions for citharodes, aulodes, citharists and auletes, (2) a decree for putting the Odeion in order so that the competitions could be held in it, (3) the election of a new board of *athlothetai* to oversee the musical competitions (or the extension of an existing board's competence to cover them), and (4) the issue by the *athlothetai* of a *διδάγματα* giving detailed regulations for the conduct of the competitions (in which, it may be assumed, Pericles' name stood first, or even alone). All this must have been settled well before the date at which the first competitions were to be held; and if one may argue from fourth-century practice, as attested by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 60.1), it seems likely that the *athlothetai* would need the best part of four years to carry out their work. It may therefore be suggested that Pericles moved his original decree at the first meeting of the assembly after the great Panathenaea of 450. It is possible that the rhapsodic contests had continued unaltered (as the author of the *Hipparchus* alleges) since their reorganisation by Hipparchus, and that they provided the model for the re-instituted competitions in the other musical genres; but this suggestion can be neither proved nor disproved.

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²⁵ That there was some disinclination for aulos music among Athenians in the second half of the fifth century is suggested by the legend of Marsyas and Athena which becomes current then (cf. Jessen in Roscher, s.v. Marsyas); but it does not seem to have been known to Pindar when he composed the twelfth *Pythian*, and there is no evidence that any

such disinclination was felt by the organisers of the Panathenaea, either in the sixth century or from the middle of the fifth onwards. It is possible that there is some connexion between the disuse of the Odeion and the disgrace of Themistocles; but why that should affect the musical contests (if it did), we cannot tell.

APPENDIX

Vases referred to in the text

(Note: Nos. 1-10 are amphorae of Panathenaic shape. The use of double quotation-marks in a description indicates that I have not seen the vase or a photograph of it.)

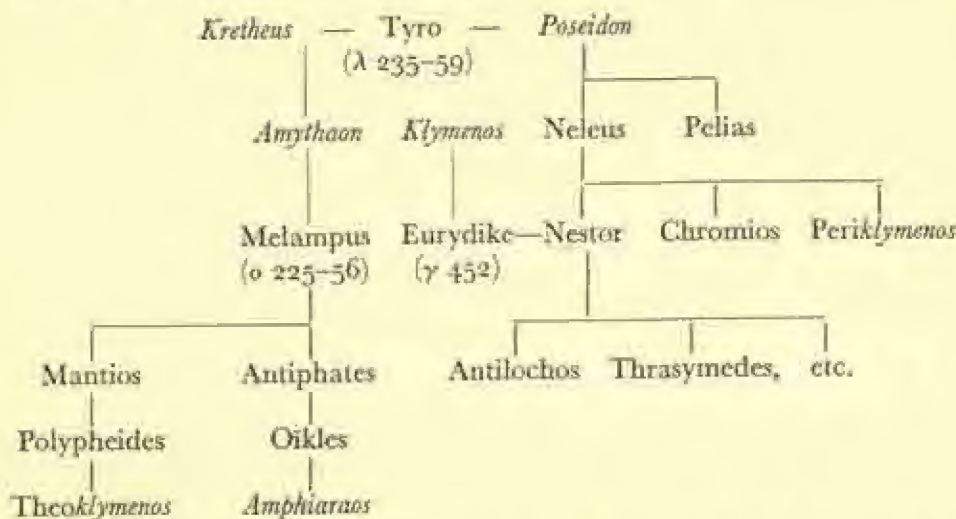
1. Leningrad inv. 17295: A, Athena; B, man playing cithara between two men (judge and competitor or spectator). A, inscribed *ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΙΟΝ*. *Arch., Anc.* 1912, 374 and figs. 66-7; *ABV* 410: 'connected with the Robinson group', 2. About 430-25.
2. Athens Acropolis 1051 (fragment): . . . B, "man, flute-player?" *ABV* 403; *Sikeles* 3. ('No. 1 is a prize vase and the others may have been'.) Early fifth century.
3. London B.M. B139: A, Athena; B, man playing cithara between columns. *CVA*, Great Britain fasc. 1, pl. 5.3; *ABV* 139: 'Near Group E', 12. Mid sixth century.
4. London B.M. B131: A, Athena; B, aulete and man facing each other on low platform, between seated judge and standing man (competitor?). *CVA*, Great Britain fasc. 1, pl. 6.1; *Zschietzschmann*, fig. 8 (B). About 560?
5. Castle Ashby: A, Athena; B, "Flute-player and two judges". Beazley, *PBSR* xi (1929), 2-3 (No. 2). About 530-40.
6. Bonn inv. 43: A, girl facing advancing Athena; B, aulete and man facing each other on platform, between man leaning on staff (judge?) and seated man (competitor?). A. Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anc.*, 1935, 443-4, 447 and figs. 31-2. About 540.
7. Manchester Museum III H52: A, Athena; B, aulete between two men, one holding wand (judge or trainer?). T. B. L. Webster, *Manchester Memoirs*, lxxxvii (1945-7), 4-5 and pl. 30-d. Early fifth century ('near Eucharides painter'—Peters (see n.1), 63).
8. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 243: A, Athena; B, man with shield on each arm dancing on hind-quarters of two disproportionately large horses (one with rider) to aulos accompaniment, before judge and spectators, while two men set up apparatus in the arena. B, inscribed *ΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΟΙ ΚΥΒΙΣΤΕΙΤΟΙ*. *CVA*, France fasc. 10, pl. 88, 89.1-2; E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, 1910, 245, fig. 39 (B).
9. London B.M. B188: A, aulete and man facing each other on platform with judge (or trainer?); B, "aulete and man side by side on platform facing judge (or trainer?)" B.M. Catalogue; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 231, fig. 32 (A).
10. Athens N.M. 539: A, aulete playing to goose and two men; B, mounted rider with groom (?)—badly damaged. *Senini Papaspyridi-Karouzou*, *AJA* xlii (1938), 495-505; A, figs. 1-6; B, fig. 10; *ABV* 85: 'perhaps not far from' the Kleimachos painter. About 570.
11. New York Metr. Mus. 25.78.66 (bell-krater), A, aulete (hands at sides, one aulos in each hand) facing three satyrs with citharae (No. 1 in full song, No. 2 striking up, No. 3 tuning), inscribed *ΟΛΙΟΙ ΙΑΝΑΘΕΝΑΙΔΑ*; B, . . . F. Messerschmidt, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvii (1932), 129-32; M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 1939, 6, fig. 9 (A). *ARV* 797; *Polign* 7. Late fifth century.

MYCENAEAN NAMES IN HOMER

PERSONAL names in ordinary use between the fall of Knossos and the fall of Mycenae could have got into the tradition of heroic poetry in three ways. They could have persisted in common use (as some certainly did); or they could have existed as a stock of 'names suitable for heroes' on which the poets drew at will; or they could have come down attached to stories or incidents or professions, with the probability that some of them are historical. An analysis of all the personal names in the tablets is a task for someone better qualified to judge the probabilities of identification, but there may be some value in a preliminary study of the fifty-eight names listed by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick as 'Names which can be exactly paralleled in Homer'.¹ For the cautious restraint shown throughout their great book is as good a guarantee of accurate interpretation as could be found. The names are fairly evenly divided between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—17 in both, 29 in the *Iliad* only and 12 in the *Odyssey* only—and of these *Ilos* or *Iros* must be omitted. The number seems too small to show significant tendencies, and it is the more surprising that they are found to cluster round certain localities or heroes. Names found in the tablets are printed in italics.

THE PYLOS CYCLE

The thickest accumulation is round Nestor and his ancestors and sons. Seven come in his family tree, if a god found in the tablets is included.



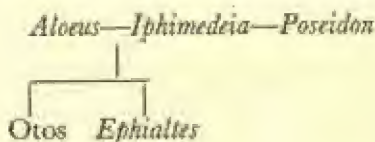
The *εταῖρος* of Antilochos is *Laodokos* (P 699). *Aphareus* is found on guard duty with Thrasympedes (I 83), and when *Idomeneus* (cf. *Idomeneia*, *Documents*, p. 89) calls on his *εταῖροι*, they include Antilochos and *Aphareus* (N 478-79). When Aeneas kills *Aphareus* Antilochos is fighting by his side (N 541-5). On both occasions they are in company with the Orchomenians, Askalaphos and Ialmenos (I 82, N 478, 518), whom Astyoche bore to Ares in the house of *Aktor* (B 513). Askalaphos when he is killed (N 519) is called 'son of *Enyalios*', and his family is connected with the Neleids through Amphion king of Orchomenos, whose daughter Chloris was wife of Neleus (λ 281-4). Amphion's father was Lasios, and Iwasos is Mycenaean, both as a personal and as a place name (*Documents*, p. 104). When Mycenaean

¹ *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, pp. 104-5.

names occur in miscellaneous fighting, a son of Nestor is frequently involved. The Argive Euryalos kills *Pedagos*, Teukros kills *Aretaon*, Antilochos kills *Ablersos*, Agamemnon kills *Elatos* of *Pedagos*, Leitos kills *Phylakos*, Menelaos captures *Adrestos* (whom I venture to italicise, although he is queried in *Documents*, No. 59), all in *Z* 21-38. It was another *Phylakos* who imprisoned Melampus in Phylake (o 231), and his wife was the *Klymene* of *λ* 326. Areithoos comes out of the Pylos stories, and we find that Paris kills a son of Areithoos, *Hector* kills *Eioneus*, and *Glaukos* kills *Iphinoos* (*H* 14). Antilochos strikes the first blow in the fight in which *Leukos* the *εταῖρος* of Odysseus is killed (*Δ* 491). And Nestor himself has his stories about the *Aktorione* (*Δ* 750, *Ψ* 638), whose sons are the leaders of his neighbours and enemies the Eleans (*B* 621). Nestor had never seen and never would see such men as *Theseus* and *Peirithoos*, with whom he fought as ally in his youth (*Δ* 262-73), and the Pylian stories are thus linked on the one hand with the Thessalian, and on the other, through *Theseus'* only other Homeric connexion (*λ* 322, 631), with Ariadne and Crete, from which *Idomeneus* has already appeared.

THE THESSALIAN CYCLE

Peirithoos was the son *Ἰσιονίης ἀλόχοιο* (*Ξ* 317) who is not named but was *Dia*, who appears in the tablets beside Zeus and Hera (*Documents*, pp. 125-6). His son Polypoites and another Lapith, Leonteus, kill an *Orestes* among a string of Trojans who include a Pylon and an Ormenos (*M* 193). Few of the Iolkos dynasty, akin to the Neleid, appear, but Jason's son, *Euneos*, is king of Lemnos (*H* 468), and buys Priam's son, Lykaon, whose name is close to Lykon of the tablets. *Machaon* comes from Trikkā. *Achilleus* has horses called *Xanthos*, out of *Podarge* by *Zephyros* (*Π* 149), and *Pedagos* (*Π* 152, 467; the third horse is another link with Nestor). He kills *Deukalion* and *Tros* (*Υ* 463, 478). Patroklos is the grandson of *Aktor* (*Δ* 785, *Π* 14); and he kills *Adrestos* and *Perimos* and *Pyris* (*Π* 416, 694-5). One of the Myrmidons is called *Epeigeus* (*Π* 571). Another, *Eudoros*, is step-son (more or less) of Echekleos son of *Aktor* (*Π* 189); in his curious story, *Hermeias*, *Artemis* and *Eileithuia* take part. Of older myth, the family tree of the Aloidai is most unexpected:



(*E* 385-6, *λ* 395-8).

THE CRETAN CYCLE

There are not so many names here. *Idomeneus* is son of *Deukalion* son of Minos (*N* 451-2). He is often found fighting with the Pylians, and once he comes to the help of a Boeotian who is the son of *Alektryon* (*P* 602). It must be coincidence that the *Alektryon* of *Documents*, No. 38 is *ἐπέτης* and the son of *Eteokles*. It is odd that Odysseus should once pretend to be *Aithon*, the bastard son of *Deukalion* (*τ* 181-3), and on another occasion, to be the son of another Cretan, *Kastor* (*ξ* 204). *Aithon* and *Kastor* both come from Knossos. Finally, when *Lykon* is killed, Antilochos and *Aias* appear just before the episode, and *Idomeneus* just after (*Π* 335-7).

AIAS CONNEXION

Aias, however, is active most of the time, and the several occasions where Teukros is joined with Antilochos do not mean much more. But *Aias* kills *Pyrasos* (*Δ* 491), and in quick succession *Hector* kills a son of *Perimedes* and *Aias* kills a son of *Antenor* (*O* 515-17). And Teukros has his bow carried for him by *Pandion* (*M* 372).

THE ATREIDAI

From the family are *Tantalos* (λ 582), *Thyestes* (B 106-7, δ 517) and *Orestes* (I 142, 284, α 30, etc.). Menelaos has been mentioned as capturing *Adrestos*; his *θεράπων* at Sparta is *Eleoneus* (δ 22, 31, ο 95, 140), his horse *Podargos* (Ψ 295). Agamemnon's herald is named *Eurybates* (A 326). The only Greek except Agamemnon who is said to come from Mycenae itself, and who actually uses in battle an unmistakable body-shield, is *Periphetes* the son of *Kopreus* (O 639); his father's name has hitherto been taken as a joke. Helen's brother *Kastor* is mentioned (I 237, λ 300), and her maids, *Adreste* at Sparta (δ 123) and *Klymene*, who is closely joined to Aithre the mother of *Theseus* (I 144). *Klymene* is the only mortal woman to be called *βοῶπις*; this has been taken as a sign of lateness, but perhaps, like *ἄναξ*, the word was transferred from mortals to gods.

AN ITHACAN CYCLE (?)

Odysseus has contacts with quite a number of people with Mycenaean names, but they have less of a family air. His herald is another *Eurybates* (B 184, I 170, τ 247), and he receives personal service from *Perimedes* and *Eurylochos* (λ 23, μ 195), though no special title distinguishes them from the son of *Aigyptios* (β 15) and his other *ἐταῖροι*. Penelope's father gave her a maid called *Aktoris* (ψ 228). *Neritos*, who with Ithakos and Polyktor built a fountain in Ithaca, might have been a *toikholdomos wanakteros* (ρ 207, *Documents*, pp. 120, 123). Odysseus kills a *Charops* (A 426) and *Ageleus* is one of the suitors (χ 131, 247). His Cretan disguises have been mentioned already.

THE THEBAN CYCLE

In Diomedes' genealogising and other tales of Tydeus, *Adrestos* King of Sikyon is named (B 572). He was father-in-law of Tydeus (Ξ 121) and of Diomedes (E 412), and owned the divine horse, *Arion* (Ψ 347, cf. *Documents*, No. 159). When Tydeus went to the house of *Eteokles*, he was ambushed by *Polyphantes* (Δ 386, 395). *Adrestine* and *Kapaneios* belong to a small group of patronymics formed in the Mycenaean way;² compare *δῶμα βλής* 'Eteokleias', and *βίη* 'Φυκλήτης' of the son of *Phylakos* in the Melampus story (λ 290, 296). Diomedes killed *Phegeus*, *Xanthos* and *Agelaos* (E 11 and 15, 152, Θ 257). Since his family is connected with Bellerophon, it is worth noting that the rulers of Sikyon and Corinth alone seem to owe personal service in war (N 669, Ψ 296-9).

THE TROJANS AND THEIR ALLIES

Mycenaean names among the Lycians are satisfactory. Their ethnic and their river names are found in the Mycenaean personal names *Lykios* and *Xanthos*. Bellerophon's father and grandson were both *Glaukos* (Z 150-206); as with *Klymene* and the son of *Kopreus*, there is a unique feature in the mention of *σῆματα*, which have generally been taken as referring to Mycenaean writing. *Pandaros*, son of *Lykaon* (cf. *Lykan*), came from Zela. Aeneas killed an *Iasos* (O 332, 337). It is more surprising to find that *Antenor* has a son *Laodokos* and a bastard *Pedaïos* (Δ 87, E 69). To his numerous Homeric sons, later authorities added a *Glaukos*, who was saved by Odysseus and Menelaos (Apollodoros *Ep.* v. 20, in a passage much concerned with Aithre). Apollodoros also has an *Antenor* and a *Glaukos* among Penelope's suitors (*Ep.* viii. 27-30), with other interesting names, e.g. *Klymenos*, *Periklymenos*, *Amphialos*, *Perimedes*, and an Ithakos from Same. To return to Homer, *Antenor* is another man who has something unique about him. His wife Theano (who was kind to *Pedaïos*

² T. B. L. Webster, 'Early and late in Homeric diction', *Eranos* liv, p. 37.

E 70), is the only priestess in the poems, and when she opens the door to the Trojans, she is certainly very like the *hieriai* and *klauiphoroi* of the tablets (*Z* 298-9). It is worth noting that the meeting of *Glaukos* and *Diomedes* comes between *Hector's* departure for Troy and the *Theano* episode. *Hector* himself naturally comes in contact with all the main characters, and he kills an *Orestes* (*E* 705) and an *Agelaos* (*A* 302) as well as the son of *Perimedes* already mentioned; but he does not seem to have particularly close contact with other bearers of Mycenaean names. His four horses in *Θ* 185 are considered spurious for many reasons, though they have good Mycenaean names—*Xanthos*, *Podargos*, *Aithon* and *Lampos* (cf. *Lampadon?* in *Documents*, p. 424). Other horses were bred by *Tros*, who seems more at home in Troy than in Pylos (*E* 222, 265, *Υ* 230-1).

PERSONAL SERVICE

Several of the people already mentioned held positions of trust or personal attendance on the royal house: *Odysseus's* herald and *ἐταῖροι* if not his craftsman, and *Penelope's* maid, *Teukros's* bow-bearer, the *ἐταῖρος* of *Antilochos*, *Agamemnon's* herald and *Helen's* maids. *Korpreus* ὃς Εὐρυσθέως ἀνακτος ἀγγελίης οἶχεσκε βίη *Ἡρακλεΐῃ*, followed a Mycenaean profession (*Documents*, p. 123), under a title rare in Homer but apparently not Mycenaean. *κρείων Ἐρεωνεύς, ὁτρηρός θεράπων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο*, carves and serves and is abused like a true court official. *Phegeus* is the son of a priest, and his brother has the same name as the herald *Idaios*. One further example is *Dolon's* father *Eumedes*, κῆρυξ θεῖος (*K* 314, 412, 426). The horse-names are presumably typical, and these too may be attached to the professions rather than to the people served.

Very few names are left—two *Nereids*, *Glauke* and *Klymene* (*Σ* 39, 47); two *Phaeacians*, *Amphialos* and *Ponteus* (*θ* 113-14, 128); an epithet of *Circe* and her island, *Aiaie*; and a Mycenaean name from the *Aethiopians*.

The frequency of names in the Pylos-Thessaly-Crete passages is very marked. They occur in groups, and they belong to the ancestors and collaterals of the heroes, as well as to their servants and enemies. Groups are found occasionally in other contexts, but they are more sparse, and there is often a point of contact with one of the three cycles. It is natural to suppose that the reason is that far the greater number of the names come from Pylos or Knossos, and to find confirmation of the traditional origin of the *Neleids* from North Greece. The total number of names known, however, is large, and the evidence does not at present suggest that they differed greatly in the various parts of Greece. It may be simply that certain peoples retained a wider range of names in their national poetry. Whether the names belonged to the localities or were preserved by the peoples, they were not picked at random from a common stock and applied indifferently throughout the poems. They have liens with each other, with individual family groups and with occupations. It must be assumed that poets 'borrowed' freely, especially when something like a casualty list was needed; but there are some signs that even these might be drawn from an appropriate source. A poet who wanted a Trojan for a son of *Peirithoos* to kill would hardly have chosen to name him *Orestes*; but *Orestes* is a name with North Greek affinities (*RE s.v.*), and the whole list may have come from a poem about the *Lapith wars*.

The names are thickest in certain types of story. The passages which are frequently called *Hesiodic* or *post-Homeric* supply a number—the Catalogues of heroines and sinners in *λ*, and other genealogies, both Greek and Trojan, especially when a god loved an ancestress, entering in to an upper room or meeting her by a river. About twenty-five names occur in such contexts, and *Penelope's* story of the daughters of *Pandareos* (*τ* 518, *υ* 66) is of the same sort; only *Pandaros* is known as Mycenaean. The *Patrocleia* contains sixteen Mycenaean names (eleven, if the great heroes are excluded). The marshalling of the *Myrmidons* for war is one of the most Mycenaean pieces of organisation in the poems; the king's son,

Achilles, has his personal attendant and representative in Patroklos, and his army (fifty ships with fifty men in each) is divided into five Commands, each under its own leader. Without attempting an exact equation, one may compare wanax and lawagetas, the ἐπέτης who seems to represent the central authority, and the commands under local lords (*Documents*, pp. 120-2). A comparable passage is the watch set by Nestor in *I* 80 ff., 'under Nestor's son Thrasymedes, shepherd of the host, and under Askalaphos and Ialmenos, sons of Ares, and under Meriones and *Aphareus* and Deipyros, and under godlike Lykomedes son of Kreion', each with an hundred armed soldiers. Compare, 'Command of Klumenos: Perintheus, Weinewas, Antiaon, Eruthras. Fifty . . . men of Metapa, sixty . . . men of . . . , and with them the ἐπέτης Alekruon son of Eteowoklewes' (*Documents*, p. 191). The fighting of the Myrmidons and of the men of the watch is fairly rich in Mycenaean names, and one may compare it with the twelve Mycenaean names of heralds, *θεράποντες* and so on, and less certainly with the four names from the families of a priest and a priestess. The Catalogue of Ships, on the contrary, is poor in Mycenaean names, other than the great heroes. The names, in fact, are most common in family histories and passages which may be called feudal; and this is an indication of the subject-matter of the Mycenaean poetry which was the ancestor of our epics.

The presence of a Mycenaean name no more proves the antiquity of the passage in which it occurs than the helmet of Meriones proves the antiquity of the Doloneia, or the names of the suitors the antiquity of Apollodoros. But the association of the names with families and relationships shows that it was not bare names only that were handed down, and this is confirmed by the Mycenaean names connected with episodes not found elsewhere in the poems. The Periphetes episode is a homogeneous piece of fourteenth- (or even fifteenth-) century tradition, which contained his armour, the mishap which could happen to him only in such armour, his nationality, his father's name and service to Eurystheus, and probably his own name as well, though it has not been found. Such a nugget is unusual; traditional and contemporary are usually blended in the poems, so that, although *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* are valuable for commentary on Homer, the authors were wise to be cautious in using Homer to interpret the *Documents*. But the converse is true, too; and the associations of the Mycenaean names increase the probability that there are Mycenaean survivals in Homeric social and political conditions. In the most recent study of Homeric society, Dr. Finley is aware of the possibility, but he minimises it: 'Essentially the picture of the background offered by the poems is a coherent one. Anachronistic fragments cling to it in spots.'³ Yet each poem is essentially concerned with a situation full of constitutional implications, the overlordship of Agamemnon and the dynastic position in Ithaca. Agamemnon is σκηπτούχος βασιλεύς, and his sceptre is a very special possession of his family; but all the other leaders are also σκηπτούχοι βασιλῆες, and Achilles throws down the sceptre as though it were merely the mark of the speaker. Even the suitors are βασιλῆες, and the Phaeacian nobles are σκηπτούχοι as well. The poets had no personal experience by which to interpret the complex hierarchy of power involved. The wanax had gone, leaving the local βασιλεύς as the greatest man among the people. The explanation in the *Iliad* that one king was more kingly than another and that Agamemnon was βασιλεύρατος (*I* 69) sounds like an attempt to make sense of the uncomprehended, but in general the poets seem untroubled; they told the stories which they had inherited in the language available to them, some of it appropriate because also inherited, and presumably everyone knew that things were different in those days. Indeed, the stories are such that they could not have told them at all unless they either accepted or invented circumstances in which they were possible. In the material background, there does not seem to be anything that is pure invention; at most imagination was shown in combining attributes which did not belong together, or in giving the gods

* M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, p. 51.

ordinary objects made of an unusual material. It seems probable, therefore, that their practice was the same in describing institutions, and, so far as it goes, that is what the evidence of the tablets suggests. It is one part of their great contribution to Homeric studies. If you know nothing but a centaur, you cannot describe a man until you know a horse; the tablets are giving us a glimpse of the horse.

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NO FLAMES IN THE ODYSSEY

IN one of the most stimulating chapters of his recent contribution to Homeric studies,¹ Professor D. L. Page adduces considerable evidence to suggest that the traditions of the Iliad and the Odyssey diverged at a fairly early date and, like isolated dialects, came to differ appreciably in their diction. Attractive and probable as this suggestion is as a whole, it will always be possible to wonder about the details of the evidence. In this paper it is intended to wonder whether the absence of *φλόξ* and its cognates from that part of the Odyssey that is certainly 'Homer's' is rightly adduced as evidence for this divergence of the traditions.

Page's argument runs as follows. The absence of *φλόξ*² must be due either to ignorance or to chance. But it cannot be due to chance, since there are more than fifty opportunities for its use. Therefore the root, so common in the Iliad, must have been 'wholly unknown to the Odyssean poet'.

It appears that in order to show that *φλόξ* was not part of the Odyssey's traditional vocabulary, since it is this that diverges from the Iliad, Page must claim that the root was not part of the poet's vocabulary at all. Can this be regarded as a probable claim? Our available evidence is scarcely sufficient to differentiate the sub-dialects of Ionic (it is admitted that both poets are Ionians), so that it is impossible to confirm that differences of non-technical vocabulary were a feature of the differentiation. Our view of the matter has therefore to depend on a subjective estimate of the probabilities. Two points are not unworthy of notice: first, the banishing of *φλόξ* from the Odyssey is only achieved by the attribution to a rhapsodic hack of the 'Continuation', where in ω 71, *φλόξ* appears in just the circumstances where, as I hope to show, it is to be expected; and second, derivatives of the root are used by prose and verse writers both Ionian and Attic, and also in the *κωμή*,³ in circumstances that make it impossible to suppose that every instance is a reminiscence of a long defunct epic word. If we attach any weight at all to these considerations and incline to suppose that *φλόξ* was known to the Odyssean poet, we must to that extent regard the conclusion of Page's syllogism not as a proof but as a *reductio ad absurdum* that calls for a re-examination of the premises. The neat dilemma 'chance or ignorance' obscures in too facile a manner the possibility that *φλόξ* was, deliberately or subconsciously, rejected, a possibility therefore that merits investigation.

The epic diction may be broadly divided into two categories, traditional and individual expressions.⁴ Traditional expressions are those whose use is so stereotyped and regular that we can speak of formulae. Individual expressions are such as are not so schematised; the class includes variants of regular formulae as well as words and expressions that are newcomers to the epic diction. The two categories are not rigidly distinct, and the same word may appear both in fixed formulae and in 'free' employment.

If it appears from the Iliad that *φλόξ* was well entrenched in the tradition, we must see whether there are any restrictions on its use that might inhibit its employment in the Odyssey: if it is in some uses at least a newcomer, whether its meaning, as deduced from the Iliad, is really suitable at any point in the Odyssey, and whether, if *φλόξ* is indeed suitable, those incidents are not adequately described with the vocabulary already at the poet's disposal.

¹ D. L. Page, *Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955, Ch. vi, especially pp. 152-3.

² I use *φλόξ* generally to signify 'derivatives of the root *bhlég-'.
³ LSJ⁹ cite among others for *φλόξ* tragedians, Thuc., Xen., Plato, Parmen., Emped., and LXX; for

φλόγεος and similar adjectives, trag., Aristoph., *Anth. Pal.*, LXX; for *καταφλέγω* Thuc., Plut.; *φλεγμάλω* and derivatives are regular technical terms in the medical writers.

⁴ I take these terms from D. H. F. Gray's article 'Homeric epithets for things', *CQ* xli (1947), pp. 109-21.

It will be convenient to list the occurrences of *φλόξ* and its cognates in the Iliad:

1. *Φλόξ* Θ 135, a thunderbolt; I 212, cooking a meal; I 468, Ψ 33, singeing a hog; N 39, 53, 330, 688, P 88, Σ 154, Y 423, short comparisons of warriors charging; II 123, the burning of Protesilaos's ship; Σ 206, the *χρύσειον νέφος* shed upon Achilles by Athene; Y 492 (simile), a forest fire; Φ 333, 349, Hephaistos's attack on Skamandros; Ψ 228, 251, 217, Patroklos's pyre.

2. *Φλέγμα* Φ 337 only, prelude to Hephaistos's attack on Skamandros.

3. *Φλέγω* (ἐπι-, κατα-) B 455 (simile), a forest fire; Φ 13 (simile), a bush (?) fire *δρμενον ἐξαίφνης*. Φ 365 (resumption after a simile), Hephaistos attacking Skamandros; X 512, the burning of Hector's clothes; Ψ 52, Patroklos's pyre. (In I 653, a suggested attack on the Greek fleet, there is a variant *φλέσαι*.)

4. *Φλεγέθω* P 738, a town fire *δρμενον ἐξαίφνης*. Σ 211 (simile), beacons during the assault on a town; Φ 358, Skamandros and Hephaistos; Ψ 197, Patroklos's pyre.

5. *Φλόγεος* E 745, Θ 389, the miraculous chariot of Athene.

6. *Ζαφλεγής* Φ 465 only, metaphorical in sense, in a philosophical passage.

A few of these may be at once discounted as being of little consequence to our problem. It would be scarcely safe to draw any inferences from the absence in the Odyssey of a word *ζαφλεγής* that is a *hapax* in the Iliad and detached from its cognates in its meaning. The adjective *φλόγεος* appears only in a repeated line in connexion with Athene's chariot³ which the Odyssey has no occasion to mention. Elsewhere the meaning 'fiery' is conveyed by such words as *λαμπόμενος* or *αἰθόμενος* to which the Odyssey has no objection.

Some parts of the epic diction are demonstrably traditional because they make unmistakable reference to objects or circumstances datable by the evidence of archaeology to a remote period.⁴ But these are not numerous, and the chief argument for the traditional nature of the epic diction is that worked out by Milman Parry from its systematic nature.⁵

Ideally, each person or thing of which the poet will have something to say has, peculiar to itself, a set of expressions for each of the grammatical cases such that there is one, and only one, expression available for each of the divisions into which the hexameter naturally falls. A schematisation of the diction of such utility and economy, it is argued, could not have been the work of one man, and must therefore be traditional. This conclusion is confirmed and reinforced by the observation that the formulaic diction is permeated at all levels by the forces of analogy. It will be clear that for our evidence we are dependent on the turns of the story obliging the poet to display his resources. Consequently many systems of formulae are incomplete. It is the analogy of the fuller systems that enables us to see that such related expressions are part of the schematisation and so traditional.

Twice we meet the phrase *φλογὶ εἵκελος ἀλκήν* (N 330, Σ 154), which has obvious affinities on the one hand with *σὺν εἵκελος ἀλκήν* (Δ 253, P 281), and is linked on the other with *φλογὶ εἵκελος* 'Hφαίστοιο' (P 88), which gives a different caesura, and with the abbreviated *φλογὶ εἵκελος* (N 53, 688, Y 423) used before the diacresis. Meagre as this 'system' may appear, it conforms to the typical pattern as closely as could be apparent from the small number of

³ This vehicle is not without its embarrassments for students of the Iliad. It is wholly exceptional both in its materials (precious metals) and its details (eight-spoked wheels). See H. L. Lorimer, *Homos and the Monuments*, p. 326.

⁴ Typical examples are οἰκός ἦν τε πέριος paralleled only in engravings from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (saec. xvi) and a few sealings elsewhere, Lorimer, pp. 139-41; πολυχρόσιον Μυκόνης true

only for a period some time before the town's destruction c. 1150 B.C.; εἶφος ἀργυρόηλον, a fashion unknown in the Sub-Myc. and Geom. periods, Lorimer, pp. 273-4. An attempt to correlate formulae with archaeological and other evidence so as to give a rough chronology has been made by T. B. L. Webster, *Eranos*, liv (1956), p. 24.

⁵ *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère*, Paris, 1928, pp. 19-25; *HSCP* xli (1930), pp. 84-9.

instances. If the epic diction is viewed as a whole these examples may be fairly claimed as traditional on this ground alone.

It would not be safe, however, to draw an immediate conclusion from the absence of these formulae from the *Odyssey*. For it is frequently the case that traditional formulae are greatly restricted in their range of application. The *fixed* epithets of the chief heroes are an obvious instance. Less noticeable is the restriction of *σάκος ἥτε πύργον* to Aias, or of *ἐρίγδοντος πόσις Ἥρης* to the context of an oath or prayer. First then the context of *φλογὶ εἵκελος* must be examined.

The comparison of fighting and warriors to a fire is not uncommonly made in the *Iliad*, but the point of the comparison is not transparent. Ebeling (*Lexicon Homericum*, s.v. *πῦρ*) says 'de vi cui resisti non potest', a probable hypothesis, for *πῦρ* is regularly *ἀκάματον* and frequent allusion is made to its *μένος*. *Φλόξ*, however, is described in none of these ways,⁸ so that it is possible that some other reference was in mind, especially as *φλογὶ* was preferred to the more frequent and metrically equally suitable *πυρὶ*. Most reasonably the allusion is to the gleaming equipment which flashes as the warrior rushes forward. A brandished sword would especially prompt the comparison.⁹ Flashing arms are a common property among heroes, but one warrior is singled out in this respect—*κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ* (forty times). Apart from a single mention (*Υ* 38) of *Ἀρης κορυθαίολος*, Hector has the sole use of this epithet. Now it is not uncommon to find that the same idea will appear in many of the epithets used with a particular god or hero. Thus Apollo has a set of five epithets of approximately identical force, *ἑκατος*, *ἐκάεργος*, *ἐκήβολος*, *ἐκατήβολος*, *ἐκατηβελέτης*. The words used need not be cognate. The same god is *ἀργυρότοξος*, *κλυτότοξος*, and also *ἀψήτωρ*.¹⁰ Agamemnon is *εὐρὺ κρείων* and in more technical language *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν*. Hence if the suggested association of *φλόξ* with the flashing of armour is admitted, it will cause no surprise to find that Hector, regularly *κορυθαίολος*, is five times said to do something *φλογὶ εἵκελος*, and that he has a virtual monopoly of this expression also.¹¹ Only one other warrior, Idomeneus, is once (*N* 330) so described. (The seventh short comparison is *φλογὶ Ἰοῦ* (*N* 39), applied to the Trojans.) Thus, though warriors charge in the *Odyssey*, they have no more right to do so *φλογὶ εἵκελος* than they have to be called by the title 'swift of foot' or to wield a 'shield like a tower'. For all these expressions are appropriated to particular characters who for obvious reasons have no role in the *Odyssey*.

In uses where *φλόξ* has its literal meaning there is only a sporadic tendency to form close verbal associations or formulae. We have *φλογὸς Ἥφαίστοιο* again (*Ψ* 33, *I* 468), and an accusative *φλόγα παμφανέωσαν* (*Σ* 206, *Φ* 349).¹² There would also appear to be a link between the phrase *ὄρμενον ἐξαίφνης* (*Φ* 14, *P* 738) and the verb *φλέγω/φλεγέθω*. When, however, a formulaic diction interlocks as closely as does Homer's, such associations are too

⁸ The epithet *ἀσπλάστη* (-ω) is in fact found twice, *II* 123, *P* 89, but not in close association with *φλόξ*. So far from being a regular epithet (these are the sole instances of the literal use in Homer), there is even hesitation over the terminations.

⁹ *φλόξ* is actually used of the blade of a sword by *LXX*, *Jd.*, 3.22, and by Aquila and Theodotion, *i* *Agg.* 17.7.

¹⁰ 'Archer' seems the most reasonable interpretation of this word which was the subject of erudite polemics in antiquity, see Schol. on *I* 404. The epithet is discussed by W. Kraus, *Anz. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Ost. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1950, pp. 516-20, who, however, would link it with Delphi's role in colonisation.

¹¹ The idea reappears also in *χαλκοκαρπύτης*, of

Hector eight times out of nine. Though *φλογὶ εἵκελος* coincides with the metre of *κορυθαίολος* it does not break the rule that formulae for the same person should not contain metrical doublets (Parry, *HSCP* xli (1930), p. 86), for it is abbreviated from *φλ. εἵκ. ἀλκή* *Ἥφαίστοιο*, and is predicative in use.

¹² It is possible that these phrases are a vestige of a complex declension like *πατρίς ἱερὸν*, *πατρίδα γαίην*, *πατρίδος αἵης* with *πυρὸς αἰθέμεστοιο* as an alternative genitive with different initial. But if this were a regular pattern we should expect more examples, and the parallelism is sufficiently accounted for by the tendency to place pyrrhic words in this position. According to O'Neill (*Tale Class. Stud.* viii) 36.7% of pyrrhics in *II.*, and 31.9% in *Od.*, fall in the fourth foot.

few and too tenuous to support any inferences about their status in the poet's technique, though they may be invaluable as indications of the connotation of the terms in the poet's mind. Other occurrences are even less schematised, and apart from the short comparisons already discussed we may regard *φλόξ* as 'free' or 'individual' in its use.¹²

It is generally supposed that the traditional is the norm in epic diction and the individual the exception. The latter uses therefore crave explanation. Many may be due simply to accident and inadvertence, others to a desire to obtain, or avoid, a certain meaning or effect, others again to metrical difficulties in a particular situation.¹⁴

The *φλογὶ εἴκελος* series does not suffer from any special metrical restrictions; but outside this context there is only one instance in the ordinary texts (*I* 212) where *φλόξ* and its derivatives are not metrically necessary. Once, in *Ψ* 217, *ἄμυδις φλόγ' ἔβαλλον* it is the short vowel of *φλόγα* that is needed. Elsewhere it is the two initial consonants that are invariably required to make position. In this respect *πῦρ* stands to *φλόξ* as *κυνή* does to *στεφάνη*, that is to say, the normal word in fire contexts is *πῦρ* (115 times in the *Iliad* alone), just as, other things being equal, *κυνή* is used for the helmet; but if *πῦρ*, beginning with but a single consonant, is metrically impossible in the sort of expression the poet wished to use, or, being a single long monosyllable, as in the accusative, is metrically undesirable, then *φλόξ* may be used instead, just as in similar circumstances *στεφάνη* replaces *κυνή* for the helmet.¹⁵ It might be thought more in keeping with the economy of the epic diction if the words with the two initial consonants were used in every case. But the fact is that the more complete systems of formulae usually provide the poet with the means of avoiding *surrallongement*. Hampered by their double initial and having no clear traditional footing, *φλόξ* and *φλέγω* do not compete on equal terms with their rivals. This consideration is of no small importance for this study, if the current conception of the author(s) of the epics as improvising bards is accepted. Such a poet cannot wait to search for the *mot juste*, he must use that vocabulary which is immediately suggested to him by his theme.¹⁶ *Φλόξ* has many competitors, *πῦρ*, *αὐγή*, *αὐτμή*, *σέλας*, *δαίω*, *καίω*, *λάμπομαι*, *λαμπετάω*, *αἰθόμενος*, all firmly embedded in traditional phrases. I quote a selection of such formulae (the first figure gives the number of occurrences in the *Iliad*, the second in the *Odyssey*): *ἀκάματον πῦρ* (7, 2), *θεσπιδασὲς πῦρ* (7, 1), *πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο* (5, 2), *πυρὸς . . . αἰθομένοιο* (2, 1), *σέλα πυρός* (1, 1), *πυρὸς μένος* (5, 1), *(ἐν) πυρὶ κηλέω* (6, 2), *πυρὸς αὐγῆς* (-ῆ) (2, 2), *ἵκετ' αὐτμή* (2, 2), *πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι* (1, 1), *δαίδων ὑπὸ λαμπομενάων* (1, 2), *πυρὸς δηϊοιο* (5, 0), *δηϊον πῦρ* (4, 0). Thanks to this richness of phraseology and vocabulary no reader misses *φλόξ* in the *Odyssey*, no one finds the poet's remarks about fires feeble or banal. Indeed it is doubtful if we should miss the word if it were absent from the *Iliad*, for the sense of many occurrences is repeated by other expressions employing the regular vocabulary.¹⁷ Possibly then the poet of the *Iliad* could have done very well without *φλόξ*,

¹² The inference from the free use, of which Page might approve, that *φλόξ* is a newcomer to the *Iliadic* tradition, is not necessary, nor in this instance, in view of *φλογὶ εἴκελος*, even probable.

¹³ Inadvertence, e.g. the line *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἰδητίος ἰδὲ ποτῆτος*, 2 201 after *A* 780, for the regular *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἰδητίος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο*. Avoidance of unsuitable effect, e.g. *γλαυκὴ δὲ σὺ τίκετε θάλασσα*, *II* 34, for the usual *πολίη*, which would be unfortunate in association with *τίκετε*. Avoidance of metrical difficulty, e.g. *χαλκοκήμιδες Ἀχαιοί*, *H* 41, for *ἡοκνήμιδες* with initial vowel. I take the last two examples from Miss Gray's articles, *CQ* xli (1947), p. 111 and *JHS* lxxiv (1954), p. 7, n. 36.

¹⁴ The use of helmet-words is elucidated by Gray, *CQ* xli (1947), pp. 115-16.

¹⁵ The circumstances under which the Homeric epics were written down has long been one of the most crucial problems in Homeric scholarship. That the poems were taken down as the poet recited them has recently been argued by A. B. Lord, *TAPA* lxxiii (1953), 124-34. Whatever its status as history, the view is illuminating as a working hypothesis in the study of the Homeric style.

¹⁷ E.g. in *Φ* 333 Hera gives a command, *πιφαίσκεο δὲ φλόγα πολλήν*, in *Φ* 342 it is obeyed by Hephaistos, but *τίτσκετο θεσπιδασὲς πῦρ*. In *Ψ* 237-8 Achilles orders *πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαι* *αἰῶσι* *οἶνω* *πῶσαν*, *ὅποσσον ἔπεσχε πυρὸς μένος*, in 250-51 he is obeyed, *πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν αἰῶσι οἶνω* *δοσαν ἐπὶ φλόξ ἦλθε*.

Forest fires are indifferently *πῦρ αἰδηλον ἐν ἀξέλαρ ἐμπέση* *ὄλη*, *A* 155, or *πῦρ αἰδηλον ἐπιφλέγει* *δοπιετον ὄλην*, *B* 455.

but he allowed himself to use it, not it will be noted in any context, but only when a large blazing fire is described. 'Flames' are the crucial factor—hence the one epithet that looks traditional, *πυρφόρος*.

Five occurrences of *φλόξ* fall between *Φ* 328 and 367, Hephaistos's assault on Skamandros. It is worthy of remark that in the epics a word may be used several times in close proximity and only rarely or not at all elsewhere.¹⁸ It would seem that a word or phrase, having once come into the poet's mind, naturally tends to remain there for some time and suggest itself again. The concentration of *φλόξ* in *Φ* (cf. the concentration of *φλογὶ εἵκελος* in *N*) does not require further explanation. The problem is to know why the words should suggest themselves at this point. Two reasons may be advanced. Firstly, the necessary prominence of Hephaistos in this episode could not fail to bring to mind the thrice exemplified (*I* 468, *P* 88, *Ψ* 33), association of Hephaistos and *φλόξ* in the poem. Psychologically an attractive suggestion. But only general arguments can be adduced to support it, for the lines do not contain the clinching formula *φλογὸς Ἡφαίστειο*. Secondly, however difficult it may be to conceive exactly what, if anything, was in the poet's mind in this magical scene, the allusions to the god's *πνοή* (*Φ* 355) and *αὐτμή* (366) make it certain that flames figured prominently. In such a context *φλόξ* is more than appropriate.

In the ordinary texts of the *Odyssey* *φλόξ* is to be found once at *ω* 71 in the 'second *nekyia*'. Together with the other three scenes of the Continuation, Page will not allow this passage to be part of the 'Homeric *Odyssey*'. The line runs *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλόξ ἤνυσεν Ἡφαίστειο*. The language is traditional to a degree. So is the theme. Among the shades Agamemnon is describing to Achilles the magnificent funeral that he was given at Troy. This is the only funeral in the *Odyssey* to which any considerable space is devoted. A pyre, needless to say, is a big fire. That of Patroklos was a hundred feet square (*Ψ* 164). To fetch the timber a small expeditionary force was despatched (*Ψ* 110 ff., cf. *Ω* 777 ff.). Its flames must have been correspondingly impressive. Five times (*Ψ* 52, 197, 217, 228, 251, a remarkable concentration) does *φλόξ* appear in the elaborate description of the burning of Patroklos, whose blazing pyre is fanned by Boreas and Notos. This is a very different picture from the watchfire of Eumaios or the domestic hearth of Penelope.

Other conflagrations in which *φλόξ* appears are the forest fires of *B* 455-6, *Υ* 490-2, and *Φ* 12-14; the burning town of *P* 737-9 (n.b. *σέλας μέγα*, 739); the beacons of *Σ* 211; the blazing ship of Protesilaos in *Π* 123. (With these may be counted the flaming aura of Achilles in *Σ* 206.) The *Odyssey*, however, has no use for these similes or incidents, for it has no armies marching out to war, no berserk warriors, no rivers to be choked with fugitives, no towns or ships explicitly burnt,¹⁹ no beacons. The absence of these motifs may well be relevant to the problem of the poet's tradition and his acquaintance with that of the *Iliad*, but this argument is independent of the language in which the motifs are expressed.

The phrase *καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέω* makes a solitary appearance in *X* 512. It is an 'individual' variant of *ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέω*.²⁰ There is scarcely any metrical justification for the new verb, for though *καταπρήθω* *καταπύρημι*, and *καταφλέγω* is itself a *hapax* in Homer. The appearance here of *καταφλέξω* is due, I think, to an association with the context of large fires, in particular with pyres. Andromache is lamenting the death of Hector.

¹⁸ E.g. *μήνημοσύνη* *N* 108, 121, only; *ισχυρός* *Θ* 89, 158, only; *βασιλευνέρος* *I* 69, 160, 392, *K* 239; and the phrases *θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέλιναι*, in *Iliad* only *Θ* 5, 20; *ἔγχετ' ἑ' ἀορὶ τε μεγάλοισι τε χειρμαδίοισι* *A* 265, 541. The subject does not appear to have received systematic treatment.

¹⁹ Doubtless Troy was burnt and the *Odyssean* poet knew it, but his phrase is *πόλιν διεπύραμεν αἰσάν*, γ 130, or *πόλιν κεραυζέμεν αἰσάν* *θ* 516. The fate of Iamros is equally unspecific, *πόλιν ἔπρησεν*, ε 40.

²⁰ Always of the Greek fleet, *Θ* 217, 235; *X* 374-

Her final words are:

νῦν δὲ σὲ μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσσι νόσφι τοκῆων
αἰόλαι εὐλαὶ ἔδονται, ἐπεὶ κε κύνες κορέσωνται,
γυμνόν· ἅτάρ τοι εἶματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις κείνται
λεπτὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν.
ἄλλ' ἢ τοι τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέω,
οὐδὲν σοὶ γ' ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκείσεαι αὐτοῖς,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρώων καὶ Τρωϊάδων κλέος εἶναι. (X 508-14)

The passage is noteworthy for the train of thought, the ritual, and the poet's comment. It is the reflexion that Hector is lying γυμνόν that prompts the mention of the εἶματα. The modern reader will naturally take these as ordinary clothes and their burning as a pathetic expression of desperate grief. But the epic poet is not so romantic. He understood the εἶματα, belonging as they do to someone now dead, as a shroud,²¹ and clearly thought there should be some point in its burning. Finding none, he explicitly states that the ritual served no purpose except as a display of conspicuous and regal consumption. It may then be worth considering, since it is odd that the poet should mention this act only to confess that he had no idea what it was about, that the εἶματα, suggested first by γυμνόν, then recalled a half-remembered traditional motif. Charcoal, indicative of some ritual acts of burning, has been commonly found in the precincts of Mycenaean tombs.²² Clothes may therefore have been burnt during the obsequies. At least the mention of κλέος makes it certain that the poet was thinking of some public ceremonial and not of a quiet disposal on a domestic hearth. We are thus led back to the world of pyres, a context in which φλέγω is well at home but -πρήθω completely absent.

Statistical data concerning differences in vocabulary are not by themselves very helpful. We need to know also not only the associations of words and the contexts to which they are especially appropriate, but also the traditional norm for a given motif, and whether, and to what extent one poem has departed from it. For a momentary aberration from a norm is clearly not the same thing as a divergence of traditions.

This is the light in which we must view the four remaining occurrences of φλόξ that have not yet been discussed. Twice does the Iliad have the line (σῦες) εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστειο (I 468, Ψ 33). The vocabulary is entirely appropriate since effective singeing requires a flame. The operation is well known to the Odyssey (β 300, ε 75, ε 426), but in each of these cases the notice is extremely brief. Many of the incidents in the preparation of the meal (of which the singeing is but one operation) are completely omitted; those that remain are shorn of all dispensable amplification, and the singeing is represented by a laconic εἶσε, εἶσαν, or εἶοντας. Eumaeus prepares his meal in five lines (ε 74-8), the more leisurely Agamemnon takes thirty (B 402-31). The inference should be, not that the Odyssey was ignorant of a word, but that it has chosen to condense a line. Now a glance at the tables in W. Arend's *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* will show that no such scene is exactly reproduced in the same words on every occasion. They vary enormously in length and content in accordance generally with the tempo of the narrative.²³

Another meal combines the appearance of φλόξ with a departure from the normal

²¹ For the shroud cf. X 352, Ω 720, ω 67. It is sometimes represented on Geometric vases. That a shroud is here thought of is a reasonable inference from the phrase ἐγκείσεαι αὐτοῖς, and is so taken by Ameis, Van Leeuwen, Paley and Leaf in their editions, and by G. E. Mylonas, *AJA* lii (1948), p. 39; cf. also the conduct of Perianthos, Hdt. v. 92. The detention of Hector's body in the Greek camp would, as Paley saw, make this the ritual of a

cenotaph. Cenotaph rituals are known to Homer, cf. α 289, β 220, δ 584, and are attested in Mycenaean times; see Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, ch. v.

²² M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 156; Mylonas, *op. cit.* (above, n. 21), p. 68.

²³ A. B. Lord, *TAPA* lxxvii (1951), p. 74; C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, 1952, ch. v.

sequence of incident. This time it appears that the *Iliad* has been guilty of expansion. When Achilles in *I* 199 ff. welcomes the emissaries of Agamemnon to his tent, the usual heroic formalities are observed; that is to say, the visitors are entertained before they are required to state their business. If they do not first bathe, and are not subjected to interrogation after the meal by their host, this departure from the norm is a necessary concession to the circumstances. The preparation of the meal, however, shows several points worthy of remark. Firstly, the 'Opfermahl' scenes are amongst the most stylised in the poems, but this scene, though making large use of traditional phraseology, does not conform to the regular pattern. It appears to be a conflation of a sacrifice (or flesh meal) and a domestic meal. Secondly, the roasting process is elaborated in a fashion entirely unique, and it is in this unprecedented passage in a line with two good variants²⁴ that the word *φλόξ* occurs:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη,
ἀνθρακὴν στορέσας ὀβελούς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε,
πάσσε δ' ἄλδς θέλιοιο κρατεντάων ἐπαείρας.

The passage is wholly exceptional and the appearance of *φλόξ* in it must not be held to have special import *vis-à-vis* its absence from similar roasting scenes in the *Odyssey*, for these follow the normal pattern that is exemplified many times in the *Iliad* (e.g. *A* 459 ff., *B* 422 ff., *H* 316 ff.). However, these lines in *I* will serve to show why *φλόξ* is absent from normal contexts of this type. An examination of the sequence of events in *I* 199 ff. will show that the kindling of the fire (211) though formally described later than the cutting up and spitting of the meat (209-10) is by the usual epic technique intended to be simultaneous with it. There are thus two threads to this short narrative. In the normal scene one, the kindling of the fire is omitted. Its omission avoids an unnecessary complication and is in keeping with the general concision of these scenes in Homer. Even in the longest examples the language is somewhat laconic, as if the poet were concerned to cut the scene to the shortest length compatible with the mention of all or most of the actions performed. Only the roasting, therefore, is normally noted, and *I* 212-13 tell us that this was done over embers after the flame had died away.

Zeus discharges a thunderbolt at Diomedes; it falls in front of his chariot, *δεινὴ δὲ φλόξ ὦρτο θεείου καιομένοιο*, *Θ* 135. The scope for elaborate description that the *κεραυνός* affords (cf. *Aen.* viii. 429) is strangely neglected by the Homeric epics, which content themselves with a fixed epithet of general meaning, *ἀργής* or *φολόεις*. Out of eighteen occurrences fourteen have no other elaboration at all; the remaining four go on to mention brimstone (*Θ* 135, *Σ* 414, *μ* 417, *ξ* 307). These statements are, of course, erroneous. The same error in both poems may be thought indicative of the unity rather than the divergence of their traditions. But what form should the reference to sulphur take? The two *Odyssean* passages are identical and state baldly that a ship having been struck by a thunderbolt was filled with sulphur: *ἐν δὲ θεείου πλήτο*. This laconic remark is in keeping with the rest of the narrative; for the whole story of foundering from the gathering of the storm to the drowning of the sailors is compressed, including a gory digression on the fate of the helmsman, into sixteen lines (*μ* 405-19), or even into seven (*ξ* 303-9). The compression is both confirmed and illustrated by the meaning 'sulphurous vapour' that must be borne by *θεείου*. The simile, *Σ* 414-17, is more explicit, *δεινὴ δὲ θεείου γίνεται ὀδμὴ*, and the most natural in its language. One might risk the hypothesis that *Θ* 135 is an expansion of such a phrase as that in *Σ* 415, and that this is betrayed by the use of *δεινὴ φλόξ* which may fairly describe the bolt but is a gross hyperbole for the small blue flame of brimstone.

To sum up: it is possible that some uses of *φλόξ* are traditional, but the employment of these is subject to certain restrictions, for the phrases are appropriated to a particular hero.

²⁴ Schol. *ad loc.* record αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτατο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ, and αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐμαράνθητο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ.

Others are 'individual', but in these cases *φλόξ* is with but a single possible exception metrically necessary, and the fire depicted is frequently a pyre and always large and blazing. The poet of the *Odyssey* does not describe such fires in detail, and so does not need the root but says all that he has to say without awkwardness by the use of other vocabulary of wider currency.

However, since the suggestion of one word by another plays such a large part in oral poetry, it will be well in conclusion to note a few facts about the distribution of fires in the poems. For this may provide some explanation of the real problem that lies behind the treatment of *φλόξ*, the wider fire vocabulary of the *Iliad*, its numerically far greater use, and the fact that the *Odyssean* poet did not happen to think of introducing in any form a large and impressive fire into his work.

To count the most prominent words, *πῦρ* makes 55 appearances in the *Odyssey*, *καίειν* 31, *δαίειν* 5, *αἰθόμενος* 7, *αἶγῃ* of a fire 2, *-πρήθω* in the sense 'burn', none.²⁵ The incident of the Cyclops produces a clustering of occurrences in 4, and there is another concentration in 7. Otherwise the distribution is remarkably even throughout the poem. No fires are prominent and the notices are brief and casual, noun-epithet formulae being sparingly used, and such as any reasonably faithful picture of daily life would be bound to make.

Books *A-H* of the *Iliad* present a similar picture: *πῦρ* has but 14 occurrences in all, *καίειν* 11, *δαίειν* 3, *αἰθόμενος* 1, *αἶγῃ* of fires 1, *-πρήθω* and *φλόξ* none, but derivatives of *φλόξ* 2. If this were maintained, the use of these words would not be significantly different from that observed in the *Odyssey*. But from the beginning of *Θ* there is a notable divergence. The *Iliad* now has far more to say about fires and displays a greater width of vocabulary in which to say it. A possible reason is this. In *A* Achilles requested and Thetis obtained merely that the Greeks be defeated (*A* 408-10, 509). But in *Θ* 180 ff. the peril of the Greeks is suddenly crystallised without warning in the ominous words of Hector:

ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι γένωμαι,
μημησύνῃ τις ἔπειτα πυρός δητοιο γενέσθω,
ὥς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω . . .

Henceforth this factor is never out of the poet's mind²⁶ and his preoccupation is reflected by the sharp increase in fire vocabulary both for literal and metaphorical use in narrative and in simile. More words and more formulae appear,²⁷ leading us to the conclusion that Hector's threat served as a potent reminder to the poet of a part of his inheritance that he might otherwise have neglected. Hence with the incident of Hephaistos's assault on Skamandros and the elaborate description of Patroklos's funeral the *Iliadic* totals are swollen to *πῦρ* 115, *καίειν* 51, *δαίειν* 19, *αἰθόμενος* 13, *αἶγῃ* of fires 5, *-πρήθω* 15, *φλόξ*, etc., 32. By their sheer size these figures reflect what I believe to be the true reason for the absence of *φλόξ* in the *Odyssey* and its comparative free use in the *Iliad*, namely a difference in the prominence of a motif that is imposed not by any divergence of tradition, nor necessarily by a difference of authorship, but by the direction which the form of their respective stories gives them.²⁸

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²⁵ Apart from its possession of a secondary meaning the use of *πρήθω* parallels that of *φλόξ*: it is restricted in context to the burning of fleets and towns, and in consequence the *Odyssey* does not use it in its domestic fire contexts.

²⁶ Allusion is made to the danger of the ships 32 times between *Θ* 180 and *Π* 273 (Schadewaldt, *Iliastudien*, p. 67).

²⁷ E.g. (first numeral) gives *Iliadic* total, second

instances in *A-H*): *θισσιδαίς* *πῦρ* (7,0), *ἀκάμαρον* *πῦρ* (7,1), *πυρός δητοιο* (5,1), *δήμιον* *πῦρ* (4,0), *πυρός* with *αἰθομένητοιο* (7,1), *πυρός μένος* (5,1), *πυρὶ κηλέῳ* (-είφ) (6,0).

²⁸ I have to thank Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram, who read an earlier draft of these notes, and Professor T. B. L. Webster for their criticism and suggestions.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM PAMPHYLIA AND ISaurIA

PAMPHYLIA¹

Sillyon. Note on an inscription already published

CIG iii. 4324c = *SGDI* 1268. This inscription is carved in a panel on a rock to the west of the city, near the modern village. Height .16 m., breadth .175, letter and space down .026,² letter and space across .019



FIG. 1

Perhaps [*Ὀλυμ*]πιακοῦ, since *ιαρός* can be used in connexion with the Games, as in Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i, p. 66; but the meaning is uncertain; *ἑρπ* generally means 'a dead-heat' (*LSJ*³ *ἑρπός* iv. 7).

Sillyon. New inscriptions

(1) A statue-base, near the Byzantine wall. Grey stone, the top and the lower part of the left side are preserved. The bottom is buried and the back is very rough, but may be original. Height over .7, breadth c. .65, thickness .33+, letter height c. .058, letter and space across .056. Roman date.



FIG. 2

Μούσου

Although the name *Μούσος* is found borne by historical people,⁴ this is more likely to be the base of the statue of the seer who, as Greek tradition had it, won Pamphylia and

¹ I should like to record my debt for the advice and help which I have received from Professor G. E. Bean of the University of Istanbul.

² Heights and breadths of letters and spaces in

these inscriptions have been found by measuring the largest practicable number of these and taking an average.

³ *CIG* iii. 4411, from Iotape, and 4413.

Kilikia for Hellas, as described by Theopompos, Strabo, and Kallinos.⁴ There were cities there named after him⁵ and his tomb was pointed out near Mallos with an Oracle.⁶ Aspendos and Mallos, which both claimed him as founder, were both called Argive colonies.⁷ His mother is said to have been the daughter of the Theban Teiresias, sent to Delphoi as a prisoner by the Argives after taking Thebes, and his father, in some versions, Apollo. Another version makes him a Lydian.⁸

Greek legend knew another prophet Mopsos, the Argonaut, a Lapith from Thessaly, after whom Mopsion was named. He is usually carefully distinguished from the coloniser and put about a generation earlier,⁹ though they are sometimes confused.¹⁰

Thus the Greek story; Mopsos seems to have been a real person, mentioned in Hittite archives, and discussed by Barnett (*JHS* lxxiii (1953), p. 142) and subsequently by Huxley (*Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies*, 1956, p. 20), but did he speak Greek? One Azitawad, who seems to have claimed descent from him,¹¹ was ruling near Adana in the ninth or eighth century and the inscription he set up was not in Greek, though his subjects are called Danaoi. On the other hand, the name seems to occur at Knossos. Barnett suggests that an earlier Azitawad gave his name to Estwediiys, Aspendos,¹² but he need not have come from the same dynasty, which may have begun as Greek-speakers and then been barbarised.

If we accept a Greek Mopsos we must imagine him colonising Pamphylia, where the Hellenisation lasted, and Kilikia, where it did not.¹³ The earliest accounts suggest a mass migration,¹⁴ but we also find cities claiming historic Greek cities as their metropolises: Aspendos claimed Argos¹⁵ and Side Kyme in Aiolis.¹⁶ Ruge suggests a double colonisation.¹⁷

There was a statue similar to ours in Side with the inscription [K]TICTO[Y],¹⁸ and in Perge there are several bases for statues of κτίσται at the city gate, including one of Μόψος

⁴ For Pamphylia, Theopompos *F. Gr. Hist.* i.15 F 103 with commentary, cf. also Pliny, v. 26.96; references for Kilikia in Kruse's article in *RE* xvi. 242-3, and those of Ruge. *ibid.* 243-51 (1933), cf. Höfer in Roscher s.v. Mopsos II (1897), who quotes Theopompos as saying that he colonised Lydia as well (see n. 8). For Eustathios's mention of him see p. 65.

⁵ Mopsoukrene, Eusebios, pp. 52-3 Schöne; Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, v. 6.22; Mopsourestia, Ptolemy v. 7.7; other references in Roscher and *RE*, cf. also n. 9.

⁶ Pausanias, i. 34.3, cf. Roscher and *RE*.

⁷ For Mallos, Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 5.9, for Aspendos cf. Roscher. Mela (i. 14) says that it was subsequently occupied by 'finitimi'. Nobody calls the colonists Theban, though the Theban refugees were said to have been sent to Kolophon with his parents, see n. 5, also p. 64 and iii. 34 to 42.

⁸ Xanthos, quoted by Athenaios, viii. 37.346e = *FHG* i. 38, No. 11; also Nikolaos of Damaskos, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 90 F 16. This last calls him Μόψος; cf. Barnett, *JHS* lxxiii (1953), p. 142, and below, n. 11.

⁹ The Greek date for Mopsos the coloniser is discussed by Huxley in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 1956, pp. 19-27. He thinks that Eusebios, who makes Mopsos 'reign' in Kilikia while the Trojan war was in progress, is at variance with the other accounts, which put the colonisation later. This is not quite certain; some of the other accounts are unrelated to Trojan chronology (e.g. Pausanias, vii. 3.1-2), while others imply that the colonisation took place very soon after the Trojan War; compare

on the one hand Hdt. vii. 91 and Strabo xiv. 4.3, p. 668, and on the other Theopompos F. 351.

¹⁰ Roscher and *RE*, loc. cit. There is no evidence of any connexion between Pamphylia and Thessaly except the alleged connexion between Kasthanaia (near Mopsion, Strabo ix. 5.22.443) and Aphrodite Kastniotis, see p. 64 and n. 37.

¹¹ He made the claim on the well-known inscription from Karatepe, published with an English translation by O'Callaghan in *Orientalia*, 1949, p. 175. It is dated to the eighth century by most of the commentators because of the name of Azitawad's predecessor Awarikus, but to the ninth by Gordon, *JNES*, 1949, p. 108. There is a puzzle, because of various translations of the second line, as to whether Azitawad was a usurper (cf. O'Callaghan, p. 193), or the son of Awarikus (Bossert, *Oriens*, 1949, pp. 93-5), or a hereditary ruler but not the son of Awarikus (Marcus and Gelb, *JNES*, 1949, pp. 116-17). It is therefore not quite certain whether he descended from Mopsos.

¹² The evidence that Estwediiys was Aspendos will be found in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 3.25-6, cf. also Head, *HN* 700.

¹³ Cf. Barnett and Huxley, also Lévy, *Mélanges Emile Boissacq*, ii (1938), 119-27.

¹⁴ Strabo, xiv. 4.3.668; Hdt. vii. 91, cf. the digressio to Kallimachos, Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, i. 198.

¹⁵ Strabo, xiv. 4.2.667. ¹⁶ Arrian, *Anab.* i. 26.4.

¹⁷ *RE* xviii. 363. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, i, pp. 34 and 85; Christensen, *Die Iranier*, p. 196, Ramsay *JHS* x. 1889-90, p. 188.

¹⁸ *Mon. Ant.* xxiii (1914), p. 129.

'Απόλλωνος Δελφός.¹⁹ I am indebted to Professor Arif Mufit Mansel for permission to quote the text of these.

Aspendos. New inscriptions

(2) A fragment of a slab of greyish-white stone, found near the spring in the ruins and brought to the custodian's house. The back is preserved, also the top with a moulding. Height .13, breadth .12+, thickness of moulding .05+, thickness of inscribed portion .04—. Letter and space down .037, letter and space across (line 1) .025. Roman date, after A.D. 70. (Fig. 3.)

(3) On the top of the hill, west of the Agora. Part of a statue-base of greyish-white stone, bottom and part of left side preserved, more than half buried. There is a moulding at the bottom. Height .52—, breadth c. .51, letter and space down .03, letter and space across, line 3, .0265, line 10, .018. From the right of the *delta* in line 9 to the preserved edge, which projects beyond the writing, .1. Roman date, after A.D. 70.



FIG. 3

[—] ον Φλ[άουιον]
[—] ον κ[—]



FIG. 4

[γυμνα]σι[αρχούντος]
[—2—]ειον Φλ[άου] [ιου—3 στ 4—]
[—2—]ν Παυλιναν ἐ[— —]
[—?2—]αν ἀνδριάντι ἐ[κ τῶν 1]
5 δίων · οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίου]·
οἱ περὶ Φλάουιον Σωσιπ[ά]τρον

καὶ περὶ Κλαύδιον [Π]ύρρον καὶ—
περὶ Σενοκλέα ΔΙΗΜΑΡ [—?3—]
καὶ οἱ περὶ Φηρέαν Ἀφροδ[— —]
10 καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημήτριον Ἀρε[— —]
ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν.

¹⁹ Perhaps following the story that he was the son of Manto, dedicated to Apollo at Delphoi, and Apollo himself.

This inscription presents several puzzles.

The right edge is not preserved, but the edge we have must be near it because otherwise the last line would be unsymmetrically centred. The one line we can certainly restore, the fourth, may have been longer (·01 or more) than required by symmetry, but we should not restore lines to be several centimetres longer than either, even though they are occasionally of unequal length, as in Le Bas 1385, from Side. There may or may not have been a *oi* after [καὶ in line 7. 'Ερείμῳσαν could come either before or after Paulina's name.

The best restoration, therefore, of line 5 is γυμνα[σίων], though ἀπογυμνα[σίᾳρχοι] is not impossible (*oi* ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίᾳρχῶν], with the same meaning, would make the line four or five centimetres longer than line 4 and is therefore unlikely). This would mean 'ex-gymnasiarchs'; a board of gymnasiarchs holds office every year and is distinguished by the name of its president, such as Xenokles or Phereas. Although it was possible for more than one gymnasiarch to hold office at a time in a city, and when there were several gymnasia in a city they often each had their own annual gymnasiarch,²⁰ there seems no other instance of a board of gymnasiarchs for the whole city being called *oi* περὶ one of their number.²¹ *oi* ἀπὸ γυμνασίου is a usual expression for those entitled to use the gymnasia,²² but since various gymnasia seem to be specified in lines 6–10 the best restoration is *oi* ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίων]. *oi* περὶ — — will then refer to the users of the gymnasia and their respective gymnasiarchs. The use of *περὶ* for pupils of gymnasiarchs seems unparalleled in inscriptions, but not unlikely.

The next five lines are hard to restore because the reading in line 8 is uncertain; there could be an *eta* for Δημῶρ [χου] or two *iotas* for Διὶ Μαρ[—], while lines 9 and 10 could also be restored either with patronymics or names of deities in the dative. We should expect patronymics for men whose Roman names are not given (as, for instance, in Lanckoroński, i. No. 98), but the restoration 'Αφροδείσιον in line 9, a name which, unlike the shorter 'Αφροδᾶ, has several parallels in Aspendos,²³ makes the line six centimetres or more longer than line 4 and is therefore unlikely.

If they are to be restored as deities, we might assume that each gymnasium is dedicating the statue to a different deity, which is not likely, and the grammar of ἐρείμῳσαν ἀνδριάντι Διὶ would be most unusual. The only parallel seems to be an inscription found at Ilei in Pisidia.²⁴ A better interpretation would be that each group of subscribers was attached to the worship of one of these deities; gymnasia could be named after gods;²⁵ here several gymnasia are attached to the same deity. This interpretation would be easier if we do not read *oi* after καὶ in line 7.

The last name would be 'Αρε[ῖ]. There is more than enough room for this on the stone, which makes it odd that the stone-cutter crowded the letters in the first part of the line; there seems hardly room enough for a title of Ares, for if more than four letters followed the name it would extend over four centimetres beyond line 4 and also over the preserved edge of the stone. In line 8 Μαρ[—] or Μαε[—] would be an epithet of Zeus, perhaps Zeus Marnas of Gaza.²⁶

If they are patronymics, we may restore Δημήτριον 'Αρε[ῖ] and compare 'Απερή

²⁰ *RE* vii. 1978–9, cf. 1981, cf. 1985–6, 1992.

²¹ If there were a board, *oi* περὶ would be a natural expression; cf. e.g. Sterrett, *Papers Amer. S.A.*, iii (1884–5), No. 291 for a board of priests.

²² *RE* vii. 2015.

²³ I can trace no 'Αφροδᾶς in Aspendos. 'Αφροδᾶιος certainly and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου probably, would also go beyond the preserved edge, three to four centimetres beyond the probable extent of line 4.

²⁴ Sterrett, *loc. cit.*, 597 = *MAMA* iv. 137, though

this is made easier by the word ἐρχή. Cf. also *CIG* iii. 4315 = *TAM* ii. 910.

²⁵ They were generally named after gods, benefactors, or the age-groups of the users, *RE* vii. 2012. They could be named after festivals they were organising, *ib.* 1985–6.

²⁶ Cook, *Zeus*, iii. pp. 549–56, cf. also Marnas, a river god of Ephesos, *RE* xiv. 1906–7, Μαρῖταιον τὸν Διὶ in Hesychios, *ibid.* 1909, and Maroga, *ibid.*, 1910.

Δημητρίου²⁷ from Lyrboton Kome, near Attaleia, also Σενοκλέα Δημάρ[χου] and compare CIG iii. 4324^d, if that is a personal name. Many of the names occur in Lanckoroński, i. 98, a list of magistrates from Aspendos including 'Αλεξίων Β Φηρέον, Φηρέας 'Αρτεμᾶ, Φηρέας δημιουργ[ός], 'Απελλοῦ τοῦ Δημάρχου, [Κ]ήσσοι Σωσιπάτρου, also 'Αφροδείσιος.

Paulina, the lady honoured, may be related to Caristianus Fronto, governor of Pamphylia from A.D. 81 to 83,²⁸ whose wife was Paulla, daughter of the Sergius Paullus of Acts xiii. 7.²⁹ But there was, later, a Sergia Paulina³⁰ and the name is common.³¹

(4) A tombstone, now used to support a water-pot in the house of the custodian. Creamy white stone, sides and back preserved, chips off the corners, bottom buried. Height over .04—, breadth .29, thickness .14+ at the top, .15 at the lowest accessible part. Letter and space down .047, letter and space across .024. Roman date.



FIG. 5

'Αγαθημερίς
(band)

θυγάτηρ Σωδ—
ΣΟΔΗ
ΙΙCΝ
ΔΙΚΙΗΡ

The name Agathemeris is unusual, though Agathemeris is often found.

(5) A tombstone, in the house of Kadir. Creamy white stone, complete, with a knob underneath as if to fit into a socket below. Height .27, breadth across moulding at top c. .168, across inscribed portion .13, thickness .105— across moulding at top, .1 across moulding at bottom, .06— at the bottom of the inscribed portion. Letter and space down .012; the letters are most irregular. Hellenistic. (See Fig. 6.)

The last letter but two in line 2 could be a digamma or a kappa; if it is a digamma, it may be the nominative of the Aspendian demotic 'Ορουμνίφους genitive, in Bean's *Epitaphs from Aspendos*.³²

²⁷ SEG vi. 672; cf. also CIG iii. 4366^a = TAM iii. 409, from Termessos.

²⁸ PIR² ii. 423, p. 100, Sterrett, *Papers Amer. S.A.* ii (1883-4), p. 134-5; RE iii, part 2. 1592.

²⁹ PIR² ii. 423; iii. 383, p. 222.

³⁰ Perhaps daughter of the consul for A.D. 168, PIR iii. 377 and 383, cf. 382, Le Bas-Waddington, pp. 731-2.

³¹ CIG iii. 4342b, cf. 4380b²⁴. The name Sergia would be shorter than we should want here.

³² *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, ii (1951-3), p. 201, no. 1, hereinafter referred to as EA. The nominative could also be 'Ερόμνους. Cf. also ΚΑ. ΕΡΥΜΝ[Ε]Α accusative, BCH 1886, p. 160, from Aspendos.

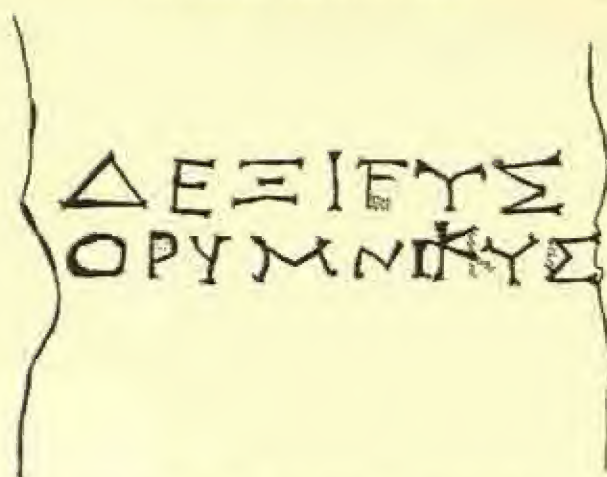


FIG. 6

Δεξιεύς
Ὀρυμνῆς

The name Dexieus is rare in the vicinity outside Aspendos.³³

(6) Built into the wall of the house of Ramāzan Kaçar. A tombstone with a pediment containing a rosette; creamy white stone, height ε. 44, breadth across moulding .29—, thickness at bottom ε. .17, letter and space down .02, letter and space across line 2, .0406, line 3, .029. Hellenistic.



FIG. 7

Εὐτόχως
Μεάτρυς,
Μινάδορυς
Εὐτίχου.

³³ Cf. the name restored Δε[κ]ιος in Dereköy, and Dexios (or Dexias) in the cave at Hissar Dag Sterrett, *Amer. Papers S.A.*, iii (1884-5), No. 285, (*SEG* vi. 701).

Μεάτρυς is the genitive of *Μεας* which also occurs in Aspendos (Lanckoroński, i, No. 65). For the genitive we may compare [Μ]ελατρυς, from *Μελας*, *ibid.*, No. 87, and *Μελάνατρυς*, *ibid.*, No. 92. *Μινάδοτρυς* is for *Μηνόδοτρυς*, for this we may compare Bechtel, *Dialekte*, p. 810, Thumb, p. 299.

(7) Built into the wall of the custodian's house. A tombstone of creamy white stone, height over .215, breadth .285+, letter and space down .037, letter and space across line 1, .031, line 2, .029. Hellenistic.

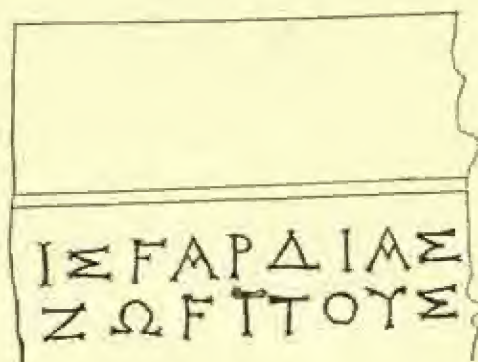


FIG. 8

Ίσφαρδίας
Ζωψίτους

For *Ζωψίτους*, genitive of *Ζωψης*, compare *Ζωψείτους* of Lanckoroński, i, No. 84, and *Ζωψες* 40- of *EA.*, 23. Bean's division of the words is now shown to be correct. *Ίσφαρδίας* seems unparalleled.

(8) Brought to the custodian's house by Muharrem's son. Part of a tombstone, greyish white marble, right side and back preserved. The band under line 1 is continued on the right side. Height .16—, breadth c. .225, thickness c. .13. From the left of the sigma in line 1 to the preserved edge on the left, .1+, to the edge on the right, .121. Letter and space down .027, or if the last line is not counted in the average .025, letter and space across (line 4) .019. Roman date.



FIG. 9

...ΙΙΙΟΕΙ

(band)

[γυ]νή δέ Καλλ[—]

[—] μεδ,ωΒ' [θυγ—]

[άτ]ερ δέ Γοργί—

[ο]υ Θραγγου

(9) Found in the ruins by Yahya and brought to the custodian's house. Fragment of a tombstone, creamy brown stone; left side and back preserved. Height .335+, breadth

·17—, thickness ·065, letter and space down ·04, letter and space across ·045, stoichedon. Probably fourth century B.C.



FIG. 10

Μαγ[— — —]
Απε[— — —]

Perhaps Μαγ[ασιψφας] and Ἀπε[λανριως]. For the former cf. EA 6 = SEG xii. 488, for the latter EA 4, ABSA xvii. 1910/11, p. 247, No. 33.

To conclude the inscriptions from Aspendos, we have a group of four inscriptions now in the school at Serik, which I was informed were found, underground, at Aspendos, rescued from imminent use as building material, and taken to the school.

(10) An altar, surmounted by mouldings and palmettes and surrounded by garlands, with the head of an ox at each corner, and a hollow the shape of a bird-bath in the top. Creamy grey stone. Height c. ·755, breadth at top (measured on the moulding) ·43—, thickness at top ·395, letter and space down, lines 1 and 2, ·058, lines 3 and 4, ·052, letter and space across ·028. Early Roman. (See Fig. 11.)

The title Kastnietis was already known, but applied to Aphrodite in the singular. It is mentioned by Strabo, ix. 5.17, p. 438, who quotes Kallimachos (frag. 200a in Pfeiffer) as saying that this was the only ὑπόστασις of Aphrodite in which she accepted sacrifices of swine. Strabo adds that Kallimachos was mistaken, because she was also worshipped that way in Metropolis in Thessaly. He does *not* say, as he is sometimes quoted as saying,³⁴ that Aphrodite was called Kastnietis in Metropolis; in fact he implies that in Metropolis she was called something else.

The only evidence that connects Aphrodite Kastnietis with Thessaly is this. Leake (*Northern Greece*, iv, p. 507) found a relief in Metropolis with Aphrodite and a hog, but this does not prove that she was called Kastnietis. He found a village, Kastania, near it, and there was a Kasthanaia on the coast,³⁵ but could Kastnietis be derived from either? Coins of Metropolis³⁶ show representations of Aphrodite, but that proves nothing. A legendary Mopsos the Argonaut, is connected with Thessaly, but he is carefully distinguished from Mopsos the coloniser.³⁷ Muller, in his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes, 852, suggests emending Ἀργεῖοι in Athenaios, iii. 96a to Ἀρναῖοι, why?

³⁴ E.g. Drexler in 1892, Roscher *z.v.* Kastnietis, Dümmler in 1894, *RE* i. 2730.

³⁵ Strabo, ix. 5.22.443, not far from Mopsion. Leake admits that the modern name Kastania is common and only means that there are chestnut trees.

³⁶ *BMC* Thessaly, pl. vii. 7 (not vii. 8, as in Roscher) and xxxi. 6.

³⁷ By Strabo, ix. 5.22.443, Tzetzes on Lykophron 881. They are confused by Ammianus Marcellinus xiv. 8.3. See p. 58 and n. 10. Polypoites, companion of Mopsos the coloniser (*JHS*, 1953, p. 140-3), was said to be, like the earlier Mopsos, a Lapith (*Iliad* xii. 128).



FIG. 11

ΔΙΙ καὶ Ἡραὶ
καὶ
(garland)
Ἀφροδείτας
Καστνήτισιν.

Aphrodite, without being called Kastnietis, was worshipped with swine in other places too: Cyprus,³⁸ Side,³⁹ Troy,⁴⁰ possibly Sardinia,⁴¹ and also Argos (Athenaios, iii. 95-96a). According to Dionysios Periegetes (852), it was also done at Aspendos. Eustathios, in his commentary on this, says that the custom went back to Mopsos, so also the diegesis to Kallimachos (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, i, p. 298). Aspendos is called an Argive colony by Strabo, xiv. 4.2, p. 667, Mela (i. 14) and Eustathios (above). Whether it was really a colony of Dorian, historic Argos is as we have seen on p. 58 highly doubtful; the recurrence of the swine-sacrifice may well be a coincidence.

Tzetzes, commenting on Lykophron 403, derives Kastnietis from κάσις, but it has been realised that the title is derived from Kastnion, a mountain in the territory of Aspendos.⁴² We now know, firstly, that this is right, and, secondly, that more than one goddess was worshipped. Possibly two were worshipped, as two goddesses appear on coins of Aspendos.⁴³ The plural could be used for two goddesses, as was done at Smyrna.⁴⁴

³⁸ Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, i, p. 197, Engel, *Kypros*, ii, p. 156, Athenaios iii. 95 f.

⁴² E.g. by Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, i, p. 197. Cf. Stephanos s.v. Κάστιον.

⁴³ BMC Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia: pl. xxii. 7 and xxii. 11.

⁴⁴ Arch. Zeitung, ed. Gerhard (Rome), October 1858, p. 201.

⁴⁵ The two *Nepōres*, RE xvi. 2353.

(11) A tombstone of creamy white stone, worn but not broken, the inscribed portion set in a panel .013 deep. Height .25+, breadth c. .36, thickness .21+, letter and space down .0275, letter and space across .022. Roman date.



FIG. 12

Κορβαλις, ἱερέ
ως Ἡλίου Λά
γου, γ[υ]νή δὲ
Λάγου Ἀπελ
λου

For Korbali, compare *Korbalia* in EA 4 = SEG xii. 487 and *Kor[α]λμα* in EA 20 = SEG xii. 496, both from Aspendos. Lagos, which is rare, occurs as the father of a priestess in the cave of Hissar Dag in Pamphylia, SEG vi. 716.

(12) A column, with a moulding above and below, and a hole in the top and the bottom as if for attachment to a base below and a statue above. Grey stone. Height .88—, diameter at top .43+, at bottom c. .53. Letter and space down, lines 1 and 2, .06, lines 3 and 4, .07; letter and space across .04. Roman date.



FIG. 13

Ἱερεῖ Ἀρεως Κυ
αίω Ἀντιχαμου

(band of floral decoration)

Νανης
τῷ ἀνδρὶ.

Ἀντιχαμου is probably a simple error for *Ἀντιμάχου*, and *Νανης* for *Νανίς*. *Kyaios* occurs in Aspendos (Lanckoroński, i, No. 98).

(13) Part of a tombstone, creamy white stone, top and bottom broken, sides and back preserved. Above the writing is a band with a knot in the middle and ends hanging down among the letters. Above that are two flower-like daisies set over .01 in. Height .505, breadth top of line 1, c. .325, bottom of line 4 .336, thickness, top of line 1 .18—, probably .18+ at line 4. Letter and space down .037, letter and space across 0.364. Hellenistic.



FIG. 14

Φηρίας
Πελλάτυς,
Φαρνοπα
Πελλωνίου.

Pherias and Phereas occur frequently in Aspendos, Phereas in our No. 3. The genitive *Φεριανός* occurs in Bean, *EA* 2. For the form we may compare No. 6 above, for *Πελλάτυς*, *Πελας* in *EA* 13. *Φαρνοπα*, probably the wife of Pherias, will be the feminine of *Φαρνοπας* which may occur twice in Aspendos (*EA* 1 = *SEG* xii. 485, and *EA* 3 = *SEG* xii. 486). *Πελλωνίου* also occurs in Aspendos (Lanckoroński, i, No. 91).⁴⁵

Suedra

The inscriptions from here published by Heberdey and Wilhelm (*Wiener Denkschriften*, xliv, 1896) are built into a wall at the top of the hill. They are all of reddish-grey stone. In No. 245 the height is .89, not .65, and the *lambda* at the end of line 4 could be a *delta*.

ISAURIA

Aşağı Eşenler and Eşenler Cıvlesi. Notes on inscriptions already published, by Sterrett. (*Papers Amer. S.A.* iii (1884-5), hereinafter referred to as 'Sterrett'.)

No. 153-4. Of the lion monument of Demetrios son of Pasion, the lion is now lying separately from the pedestal, and the top right-hand corner of the latter is broken away. In the inscription that begins on the base of the lion we may note an error in line 2 (*Ἰννα* for *Ἰνναν*). There may be traces after *καὶ Πασίωνα*.⁴⁶ In the inscription on the pedestal Sterrett omitted some words; line 4 should read:—

πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐφιππον καὶ Τιττιν Ὀρέστου τὴν μη-
τέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μαμμεων, etc.

The first inscription says that Demetrios ἀνέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν λέοντα, the second has the more usual ἀνέστησεν. Ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν λέοντα means 'set up a lion for himself', not 'set up himself as a lion', as will be discussed on p. 70.

⁴⁵ Cf. 90 where he says that ΠΕΛΩΝΙΟΥ is a mistake for ΠΕΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ. Bean suggested to me that this may be a local form of the name Apollonios.

⁴⁶ Sterrett's facsimile is better than his transcription, cf. I. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 394.

**Ἀνέθηκεν* is used because of the Anatolian idea that the tomb was sacred;⁴⁷ it could be a *ἡρώων*,⁴⁸ and an altar⁴⁹ where sacrifices were performed,⁵⁰ and might be dedicated⁵¹ to Zeus,⁵² as the earlier Phrygian tombs may have been dedicated to the Mother.⁵³

**Ἐφιππον* means that the man was represented 'on horseback', the same meaning as in inscriptions from Araxa⁵⁴ and Siristat.⁵⁵ The word need not, and here cannot, refer to an actual equestrian statue.

Lions on tombs are discussed by Robert,⁴⁸ Ramsay,⁵⁶ Buckler, Calder and Cox,⁵⁷ and Schwenn.⁵⁸

Of the names, *Bateos* seems unparalleled though *Baros*, genitive, occurs in Aspendos (EA 14). *Κανζως*, nominative singular, is found at Uç Kilisse (Sterrett 256). For the use of heroic names like *Orestes* in the vicinity we may compare p. 75 and note. The other names are common; *Mammis* occurs in Eşenler Civlesi, buried by a freedman. (Sterrett 151.)

No. 155-6. On Face A the reading in line 1 should be *Κουλαν καὶ Μασσαν*, both names occur in the vicinity.⁵⁹ For *Longinus* see No. 17.⁶⁰ The restoration [νόμ]φας is unlikely; there is room for about nine letters. Possibly it was τὰς Ν[ουνον ἀδελ]φάς. On Face B there is one *pi*, not two, at the end of line 4.⁶¹

No. 157. Sterrett restores this as though the beginnings of the lines were preserved, but they are not; it should really be as follows:—

[— 10 or 9—] Ἀ ν Ιωι: [— 10 or 9—]
 [— 11 (or 12) —] ν γυναικ [— 12 (or 13) —]
 [— 14 or 13 —] εαυτῶ [— — — c. 11 —]
 or [— 14 or 13 —] εαυτο [— c. 12 —]
 [— c. 8 —] ν, δ, λ, or CANKA [— c. 9 —]
 or [— 9 or 10] ν, δ, λ, or CAINC A [— 12 or 11 —]
 [— 7 or 6 —] αὐτῶν [— 8 or 7 —].

The traces in the first line may be [ΙΙ]ασιων[α] or αὐτων. After lines 1 and 2 the stone is worn smooth.

Aşağı Eşenler and Eşenler Civlesi. New inscriptions.

(14) Eşenler Civlesi, in a pit. A tall pillar, grey stone, preserved except for the top, but much worn; the back of the top is buried. There is a moulding at the bottom. Height c. 2.24, breadth of inscribed portion .63, thickness over .64, letter and space down .055, letter and space across .036. Roman date. (See Fig. 15.)

The monument consisted of a statue (*ἀνδριαντάριον*) and sculptures in relief (*ζῳδία*). For that meaning of *ζῳδία* we may compare an inscription with some phrases reminiscent of

⁴⁷ *JRS* xiv (1924), p. 79.

⁴⁸ *SEG* vi, 203, from Eumeneia.

⁴⁹ Ramsay, *JHS* v (1884-5), pp. 251-5, *SEG* vi, 40 from Ankyra, and 211 from Eumeneia (these are altars to the dead man), and *JHS* iv (1883-4), p. 407, perhaps an altar even when the tomb is Christian.

⁵⁰ Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 391.

⁵¹ Calder, *JRS* ii (1912), p. 94. Cf. also *Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, p. 21, No. 104 in Weinreich's article, where a dead child is addressed by a title usually given to gods.

⁵² *BCH* 1879, p. 335, if the name really is that of Zeus, *CIG* iii, 4301d, but *Ad* is a restoration; *JHS* v (1884-5), p. 256, Ramsay *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 270-8.

⁵³ *JHS* ix (1888-9), p. 371; *JHS* v (1884-5), 241-31.

⁵⁴ *JHS* lxviii (1948), p. 47, line 30.

⁵⁵ *SEG* vi, 527.

⁵⁶ *JHS* v (1884-5), p. 250; *JHS* ix (1888-9), pp. 369-82.

⁵⁷ *JRS* xiv (1924), pp. 31-2 and the references there given.

⁵⁸ *RE* xi, 2267, 2281, and the references there given.

⁵⁹ *Koulai* at Alkaran, Isauria (*SEG* vi, 486, also *JRS* xiv (1924), p. 54); *Masouai* in Artanada (Sterrett 130) in Bozkit near Isaura Palaia (*SEG* vi, 457) and in Eikonion (*JRS* xiv (1924), p. 43).

⁶⁰ For the name cf. *JRS* xiv (1924), p. 179, on *Longus* and *Dolichus*.

⁶¹ For names derived from the Anatolian god *Papas* see Ramsay in *JHS* iv (1883-4), pp. 35-6 and Radet and Paris in *BCH* 1886, p. 306.

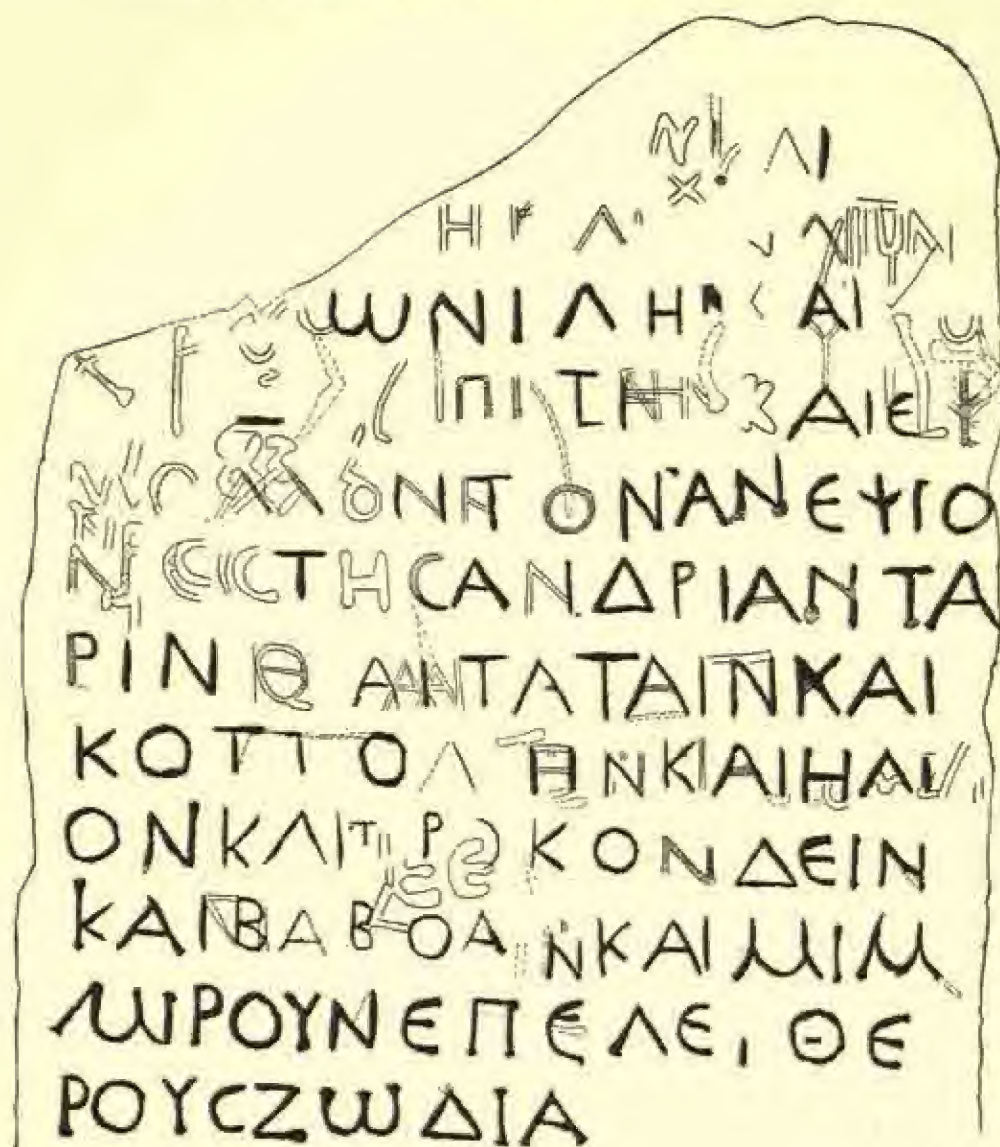


FIG. 13

NKAI[— 2 or 3 —]

[— c. 6 —]ΗΙΛ

Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ [— 2 or 3 —]

[— c. 3 —] — [— c. 3 or 4 —]ΠΙΤΗ καὶ Ἑρ

5 μόλαον τὸν ἀνεψιὸν

ἐστήσαν ἀνδριαντά

ρων καὶ Ταταῖν καὶ

Κοττόνην καὶ Ἥλι

ον καὶ Τροκονδεῖν

10 καὶ Βαβδῶν καὶ Μιμ

μῖρον ἐπελεύθε-

-ρους ζώδια.

this one, *SEG* vi. 780, from a village between Artanada and Nea Isaura.⁶² *Ἐπελεύθερος* is certain, it seems to mean the same as *ἀπελεύθερος*. The word is very rare, but may occur in juridical texts and on an inscription from Kalymnos.⁶³

**Ἔστησ<αν>* seems an error for the more usual *ἀνέστησαν*. It would seem at first sight as if this meant 'set up Hermolaos as a statue' and that the corresponding phrase in Sterrett 153-4 meant that the lion represented Demetrios.⁶⁴ But there are instances of two accusatives after *ἀνέστησεν* which cannot mean this; *ἀνέστησα τὸν πατέρα βωμόν, σε νυνφικὸν ἰστέφανον κοσμήσαμεν, ἀνέστησα Νιννιν* — — *ὁδοθήκην*,⁶⁵ and the construction, a local peculiarity, will mean 'set up a statue to Hermolaos'.

The name *Babōas* is common, *Trokondis* is the feminine of the common *Trokondas*, and *Tatais* seems to be the feminine of *Ταταεύς* one of the *ethnika* in the subscription-list from Ganzaiia (Sterrett 366, line 41).⁶⁶ *Κοττόνιος*, genitive of *Κοττόνιος* occurs at Artanada (Sterrett 85), and the genitive *Κοτόνης* at Seleukeia Sidera (Sterrett 465). *Ἡλῖος* is often found, both for slaves⁶⁷ and free men.⁶⁸ There is also the Anatolian name **Ἡλῆς*, **Ἡλεις*, or **Ἡλῖς*⁶⁹ and sometimes a form appears that could come from this or from **Ἡλιος*.⁷⁰ For *Μιμμορον* compare *Μιμρόον* in Artanada (Sterrett 124.)

(15) A tombstone, built into the fountain, Aşağı Eşenler. Grey, white-grained stone. Height .57, breadth .75, thickness .36, letter and space down .044, letter and space across .027. Roman date.

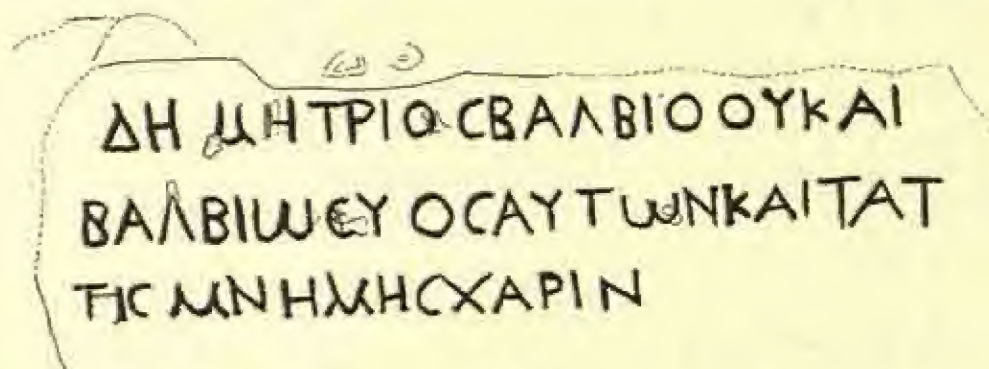


FIG. 16

*Δημήτριος Βαλβίου καὶ
Βαλβίως υἱὸς αὐτῶν καὶ Τάτ-
τις, μνήμης χάριν.*

Βαλβίως (= *Βαλβίδας*) was the son of Demetrios and Tattis; the order is confused so as to put the male names first, 'Demetrios, son of Balbiōs, and Balbiōs their son, and Tattis'. *Tattis* is more usually spelt *Tatis*,⁷¹ but is spelt this way in Kale Kōy, Lykaonia.⁷²

⁶² See also Robert, *Ét. Anatol.*, p. 396. They were probably on the buried part of the monument.

⁶³ *REA* 1942, pp. 217-23 and the references there given.

⁶⁴ Cf. Nos. 17 and 18 where there are representations of the people whose names are in the accusative after *ἀνέστησαν*. and Calder, *JRS* ii (1912), p. 81.

⁶⁵ Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 277-8, and Robert, *Ét. Anatol.*, p. 393. See his discussion of this and the note on *SEG* vi. 532.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ramsay, *JHS* iv (1883-4), p. 34.

⁶⁷ *JHS* xxxii (1912), p. 133, a freedman from Pisidian Antioch.

⁶⁸ At Eikonion (*JHS* xxxi (1911), 188), Orkistos, Phrygia (*CIG* iii. 3822c²), Ankyra (*SEG* vi. 41), and as the name of a *Μεγυνεύτης* on the Ganzaiia list (Sterrett 366, line 108).

⁶⁹ Cf. *MAMA* iii. 612.

⁷⁰ *Studies*, p. 133.

⁷¹ E.g. in Günen (Sterrett 487). *Ταττίους* may occur twice, in each case partly restored, *CIG* iii. 4321b, from Taçalidağ, Lykia, and 4341c, Attaleia.

⁷² *Studies*, p. 164.

Balbioas occurs in Siristat (Sterrett 163); we may compare [Βαλβ]ί^{ος} in Nea Isaura in Sterrett 260. The form Βαλβί^{ως} seems unparalleled.

(16) A tombstone, built into the wall of a house, Eşenler Civlesi. Yellowish stone. Height .5, breadth .67, ascertainable thickness .25—, letter and space down .04+, letter and space across, line 1, .0455, line 2, .0425. Roman date.

ΚΑΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΚΟΔΡΑ
ΤΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ

FIG. 17

Καμάτα, Κοδρά-
του θυγάτερα

Θυγάτερα is nominative as in modern Greek.

Kamata occurs at Armassun (Sterrett 44). The name *Kodratos* is fairly common in the vicinity; perhaps its bearers were named after the same man as were the Quadrata Praedia, near Eikonion.⁷²

(17) A tombstone, built into the wall of the mosque at Aşağı Eşenler. Reddish stone, relief sculpture underneath, of which the bottom is cut off. Height *c.* .35, breadth .6+, letter and space down .0575, letter and space across (line 1) .024. The inscription is written within and around two triangles. Roman date.



FIG. 18

Λοιγέρος ΚΑΝΕΤΑΒ
οπας ἀνέστησαν Πασ
[ίω]να τόν πατέρα

⁷² SEG vi. 407; *JRS* ii (1912), p. 245; *JRS* xiv (1924), p. 29, No. 7. For Antius Quadratus, who governed several provinces in Asia Minor in Trajan's

time, cf. Le Bas-Waddington, p. 713; *CIG* iii, p. 1121; *RE* i. 2564-5; *PIR* i. 338.

Longinus and *Pasion* are both common names in the vicinity, and both occur at Eşenler, *Longinus* in Sterrett 149 and 155-6, *Pasion* in 153-4 and 155-6.

(18) A tombstone, built into the walls of the same mosque; yellow stone, inscribed above and below some relief sculpture of three men and a woman. Height .7, breadth .73, letter and space down .0425, letter and space across (line 4) .025. The top part is written in and around two triangles. Roman date.

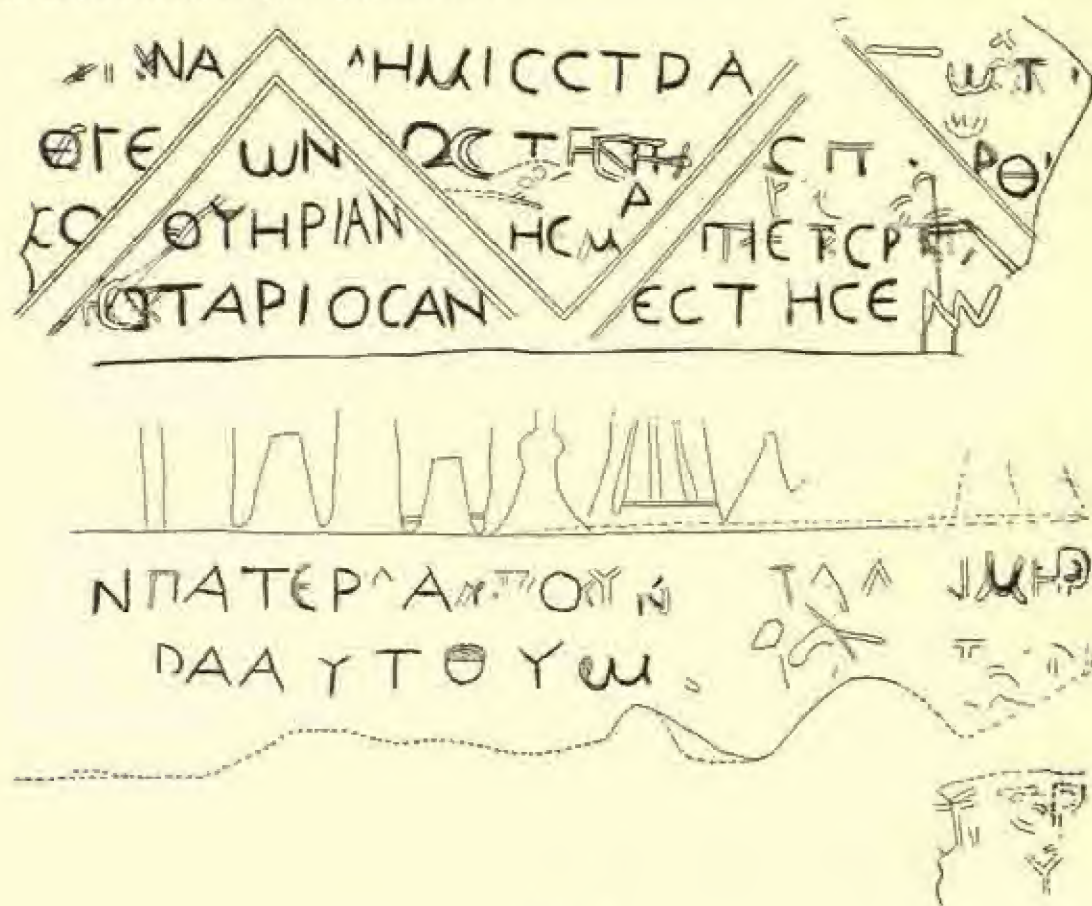


FIG. 19

ΙΙ * W Ἀδηνις, στρα[τι]ώτης
[λ]εγεώνος τρίτης Π[α]ρθι[κής]
Σουθηριανῆς, μάγιστ[ερ] κ[αὶ] ν
στάριος ἀνέστησε

(sculpture)

5 ν πατέρα αὐτοῦ K · ΤΑΑ · ΙΙ
πα αὐτοῦ

The restoration [ν]στάριος is doubtful. *Μάγιστ[ερ]* cannot refer to a high rank since it refers to a *στρατιώτης*. For the use of the title for a low rank we may compare Dessau 2801.

The *legio Tertia Parthica Seueriana* was stationed on the Eastern frontier, but not much is known about it.⁷⁴ For ἀνέστησεν see p. 70.

⁷⁴ *RE* xii. 1308-9, 1339-40; Dessau, 484, 2653.

The triangles in this and the previous inscription probably represent part of a building, since the tomb is considered as a shrine.⁷⁵ The Christians made theirs resemble Christian churches.⁷⁶ The slight resemblance of our tombstones to shrines of Men Askaenos⁷⁷ is probably only a coincidence.

Dikmen, near the village of Taşkent

This is a deserted site with sculpture fragments; it was said that there were inscriptions, but we only found one, as follows.

(19) Part of a block surmounted by a moulding, lying near the wall at the bottom of the valley. Bottom, top, and right side preserved. Greyish white stone; height .39, breadth at top .25, thickness .445, letter height .04, letter and space across .04. Roman date.



FIG. 20

[— — —] υτης

Perhaps [περιβόλο]ν της or
[προσβε]ντης.

Astra. Notes on inscriptions already published by Sterrett

No. 66. Fragment C shows the right-hand corner of the doorway under the inscription. In fragment A the *beta* in *περιβόλου* is certain. Fragment B should read:—

ΝΝΑΙ Ἀπλάδας ἡσάυρος ἐν τῷ (or ἐνι or ἐνω)—

The name occurs in our No. 21. For the date of this inscription see the commentary on No. 21.

No. 69. This has been moved from 'in the Temple', where Sterrett could not take a squeeze, and is now near the steep slope of the hill.

A large block of grey stone, broken at the top and the back, height .56+, breadth .7, thickness .65, letter and space down .05, letter and space across .0415. Roman date. (See Fig. 21.)

In line 1 Sterrett's *mu* is erroneous; the name is Παθῶν or Ταθῶν, less likely Γαθῶν. In line 5 Ζήζιν Πα is better than taking Πα as part of the following ethnic, since the other λατύπος has a patronymic.

In lines 3-4 ἤγαγεν δὲ λατύπους means, as Ramsay recognised,⁷⁸ not 'erected the statues of the stone-cutters' but 'brought in stone-cutters' (or sculptors, for the word often means that) from another city. In lines 5-6 Callander takes ΠΑΠΟΠΝΔΕΙC as the ethnic of the city, and says that Πορνδεῖς is a shorter form of this,⁷⁹ but there is no need to assume a longer form. Ramsay says that this was an error in Sterrett's copy, but, though there certainly is an error, Zezis, Tarasis, and Lucius are responsible; Sterrett's copy is correct.

Ramsay's translation involves taking Ζήζιν and Ταράσιν as nominatives, which is unlikely, especially for men's names. They should be the accusatives of Ζήζεις and Ταράσις, objects of ἤγαγεν, but to construe Πορνδεῖς is difficult. We could say that it agrees with Ζήζιν and Ταράσιν, and call ἀπήρτισαν, which is certain, an error for ἀπήρτισεν, but that would make the

⁷⁵ Ramsay, *JHS* v (1884-5), 250-62; Buckler, Calder, and Cox, *JRS* xiv (1924), p. 79. See also p. 68.

⁷⁶ Margaret Ramsay, *Anatolian Studies* (Ramsay),

p. 323; Ramsay, *Luko the Physician*, p. 380, cf. 346.

⁷⁷ Hardie, *JHS* xxxii (1912), p. 111.

⁷⁸ *Historical Geography*, p. 382.

⁷⁹ *Studies*, p. 169.

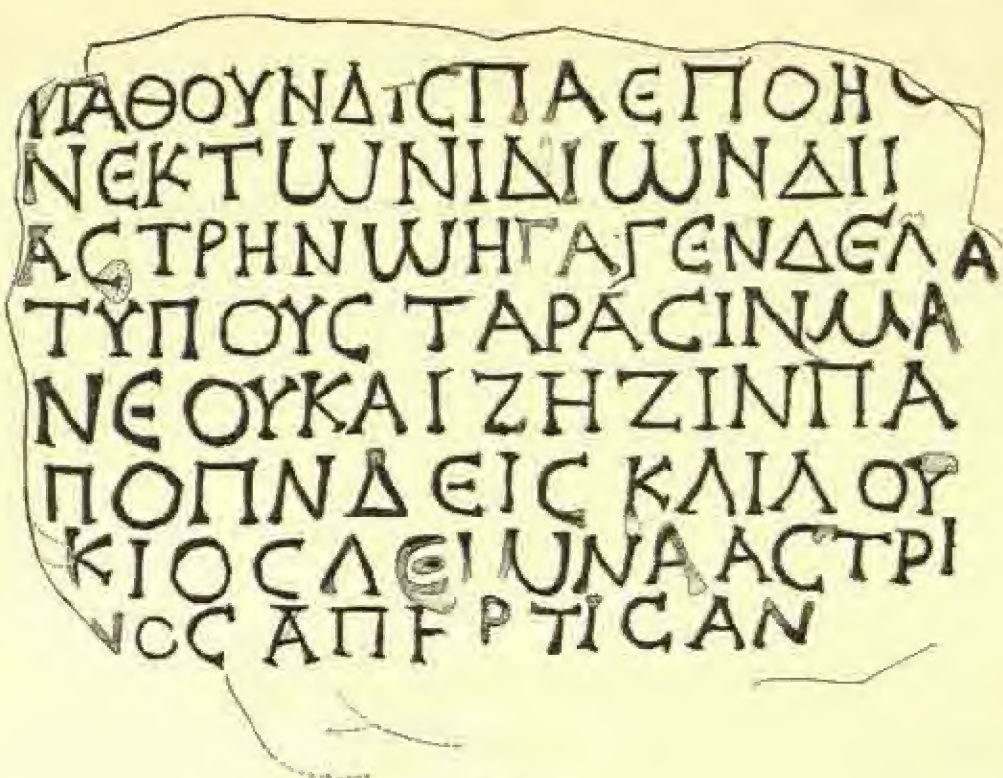


FIG. 21

Παθοῦν δις Πᾶ ἐπόη[ε]
 ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διὶ
 Ἀστρηνῶ· ἤγαγεν δὲ λα-
 τύπους, Ταράσιν Μα-
 5 νίου καὶ Ζήζιν Πᾶ,
 Πο[ρ]ινδεῖς, καὶ Λού-
 κιος Λεωνᾶ Ἀστρη-
 νὸς ἀπέρτισαν.

ethnic after Lucius's name rather pointless. But if we put a full stop after Πᾶ and construe Πορινδεῖς as nominative, it is difficult to see what the people of Porinda actually did. Possibly Πορινδεῖς is accusative, and a name, or a word like οἷδε has dropped out before καὶ Λούκιος; if not, we must translate as if οἷδε were there and assume a violent anacoluthon. Whether we assume an omission of οἷδε or not, the meaning is 'He brought in mason's Tarasis son of Manes and Zezis son of Pas, both of Porinda; <they>, and Lucius, son of Leonas of Astra, finished the work'.

There was a λατύπος called Lucius from Palaia Isaura (CIG iii. 4393). If Astra was a deme of Palaia Isaura, they might be the same man.

The name Πᾶς is an Anatolian name like Βᾶς Δ[ᾶς], Αᾶς, Βᾶ Αᾶ, Μᾶ, Νᾶ, Τᾶ, Πᾶ, and Βλᾶ.⁸⁰ Ζεζις may occur at Akça, where BCH 1886, p. 513 reads ζή(σ)ω in the text, ZHZIN in the facsimile. The other names, except for Pathoun, are common.⁸¹

⁸⁰ For Βᾶς, MAMA iii. 108, Tapureli; Αᾶς, MAMA iii. 50, near Diokaisareia; Αᾶς, CIG iii. 4406, 4409 (restored), Hamaxia; Βᾶ, Sterrett 78, Artanada; Αᾶ, JHS xxxi (1911), p. 167; Μᾶ, Sterrett, Papers Amer. S.A. ii. p. 287, no. 335; CIG iii. 4411, Iotape; Νᾶ, EA 6, from Aspendos; Τᾶ JRS xiv

(1924), p. 63, from Alisa; Πᾶ, ibid. p. 38; Βλᾶ CIG iii. 4401 and 4405, Hamaxia.

⁸¹ For Μανίων note that the genitive of Μάνης can also be Μανίων, e.g. CIG iii. 4380v. (restored), in Aspendos it is Μανίων, e.g. Lanckoroński 71 spelt -ειος.

No. 70. This inscription is written on a crude moulding consisting of three shallow steps, which probably surmounted something else and supported the statues. It is made of grey stone like all the Astra inscriptions.

There may be a blank space before τοὺς γονεῖς, in which case those words should have been at least roughly central. In that case [Ἀὐρή]λιος is more likely than [Αἰ]λιος; compare also Aurelius Paulinus in No. 21, who may be a relative. This suggests that Sterrett's [Παυ]λίου in line 2 is right, though the doubtful letter could be a *delta*. If there is a blank space before τοὺς γονεῖς, the mother's name will be Aurelia only, which is unusual but occurs in Laodikeia Katakekaumene.⁸²

The names Paulus and Priscus are both common in the vicinity, the latter possibly because it was the name of a governor of Kilikia, Isauria, and Lykaonia in the time of Antoninus Pius.⁸³ Zeudas occurs at Astra in Sterrett 68, and is common in the vicinity.⁸⁴ Callander suggests that Zeuda is the local variant of Theuda.⁸⁵

Astra. New inscriptions

(20) Near the theatre. A stele, broken at the top and bottom, the back is rough but probably original. Grey stone. Height just under 1 metre, breadth .47—, thickness .1+, letter and space down .027, letter and space across .021. The inscription is carved on a panel. For the date see p. 77.

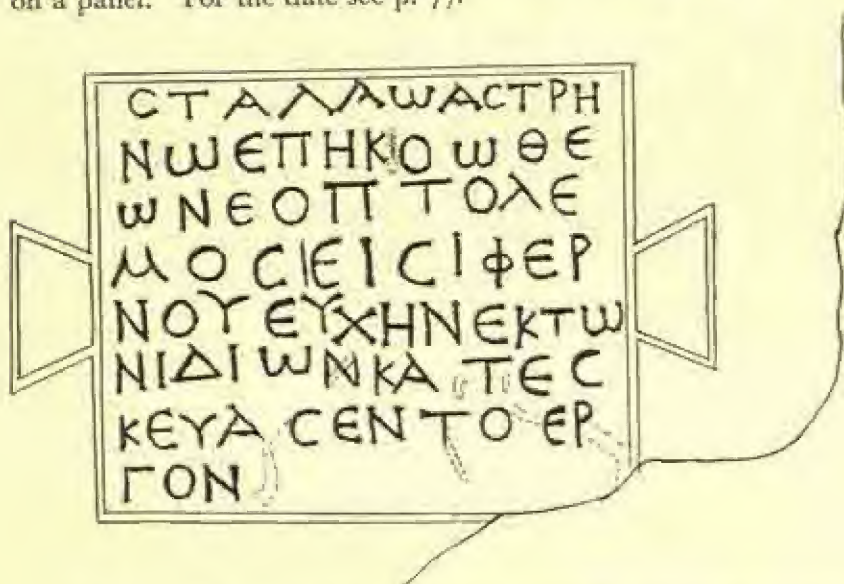


FIG. 22

Σταλλῶ Ἀστρη-
νῶ, ἐπηκόῳ θε-
ῶ, Νεοπτόλε-
μος Ζισίφερ (ὁ Ἐισίφερ)-
5 νου εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶ-
ν ἰδίων κατεσ-
κεύασεν τὸ ἔρ-
γον.

This is a dedication stele of a sort common in Egypt, the ἔργον is the building, not the stele itself. Since the back of the stele was not meant to be seen, it probably leant against a wall.

The name Stallos (or Stalaos), who may or may not be the same god as Zeus in Sterrett 67 and 69, is noteworthy because names beginning with St- are most unusual in Anatolia.

Neoptolemos is one of the names from Greek literature which are often found in the vicinity.⁸⁶ Names derived from Isis, however, are not usual.

The word ἐπήκοος is often found as an epithet of gods, and has often been discussed⁸⁷

⁸² MAMA i. 38.1

⁸³ Sterrett, p. 189-90; JRS xiv (1924), p. 53; PIR ii. 75; PIR² iii. 89, No. 104.

⁸⁴ It occurs at Olubunar (CIG iii. 4390) and Alisa (JRS xiv (1924), p. 67).

⁸⁵ Buckler, Calder, and Cox, JRS xiv (1924), p. 52.

⁸⁶ By Le Bas-Waddington (Commentary on No. 1173), Collignon (BCH 1879, p. 336), Sterrett

(Papers Amer. S.A., 1883-4, p. 112); Ramsay (JRS viii (1918), p. 139) and Jessen (RE v. 2731-2). Ramsay suggests that in Asia Minor it is a special epithet of the supreme deity, but that is not always the case, cf. SEG vi. 392, from near Laodikeia, Ἀπόλλων Σώζοντι, Ἀργεῖαι ἐπηκόοι, Ἡ[λ]ιῶν, Μητρὶ Ζεφυμνή. This last we should expect to find called ἐπήκοος if Ramsay is right.

and there are collections of instances compiled by Drexler⁸⁸ and Weinreich.⁸⁹ Sometimes it seems to be a title of the deity mentioned, as possibly sometimes of Zeus,⁹⁰ Aphrodite,⁹¹ unnamed deities,⁹² and Isis, whose title survived in Athens into Christian times applied to St. Mary.⁹³ Sometimes it is not a title but a simple adjective, as with the sun-god,⁹⁴ or a dead child,⁹⁵ and when *ἐπηκόω θεῷ* stands in apposition to the name of a deity in a votive inscription, as here, it could mean 'the god who heard my prayer'.

(21) By the Temple of Zeus, a base, complete except that the top left-hand corner of the back has been broken away. Grey stone. Height .98—, breadth *c.* .805, thickness *c.* .945, letter and space down .052, letter and space across .05. Under the inscription is a carving of a shield and spear. For the date see below.

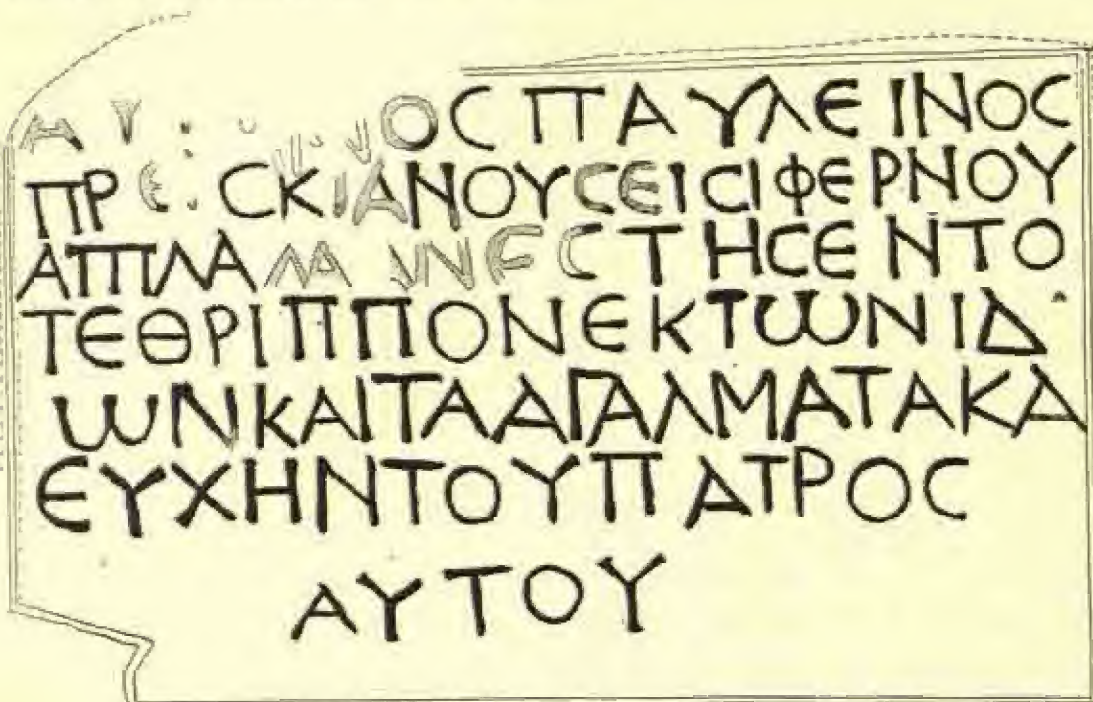


FIG. 23

Ἀνδρῆλιος Παυλεῖνος
Γρεισκιανοῦ Σεισιφερνον (or Πρεισκιανου Εἰς.)
'Απιλάλα ἀνέστησεν τὸ
τέθριππον ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
5 ων καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, κατ'
εὐχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ.

The *pi* and the *iota* in 'Απιλάλα are run into one letter. If *Εἰσιφερνον* be read, *Πρεισκιανου* is an error for *-νός*.

⁸⁸ *NJPh*, 1892, 361.

⁸⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, pp. 1-68. Cf. also *JHS* xxxii (1912), p. 166; *SEG* iv, 164, vi, 453, 607, and 718.

⁹⁰ Weinreich, pp. 23-5.

⁹¹ Weinreich, p. 5, quoting Hesychios, and *Inschr. aus Priene*, 1906, p. 132, where the title is in an inscription on an altar in the nominative, and therefore probably not 'the goddess who heard my prayer'.

⁹² Weinreich, p. 12 and pp. 19-21; add the dedication [θ]εῶς [π]ηρώς with three horsemen armed with spears, near Ganzaiia, *JHS* xxxii (1912), p. 169, and θεῶ ἐπικῶ near Attaleia, *SEG* ii, 709.

⁹³ Weinreich, p. 44, cf. 15. Here also there is no question of 'The god who heard my prayer'.

⁹⁴ Weinreich, p. 13.

⁹⁵ Weinreich, p. 21, No. 104.

**Ἀπιλάλα* is the genitive of the name Apilalas that occurs, as we have seen, in Sterrett 66 (above, p. 73). It may even be that Apilalas of Isaura, the builder of the *προναῖον*, was the father of Sisiphernes or Isiphernes and the grandfather of Priskianos, possibly also of Neoptolemos in No. 20.

Aurelios Paulinos, son of Priskianos, or Aurelios Paulinos Priskianos, may have received the citizenship by Caracalla's decree in 212, which would help us to date the buildings in the sanctuary.

A concluding word about Astra. This little sanctuary in the Isaurian mountains, with its theatre, temples, inscriptions, and sculpture fragments, would well repay closer study and excavation. There is a spring of water and a summer village that excavators could use, and it is one of those sites where a good deal could be learnt, by examining what is above ground, without any excavating at all. It is also a site which is liable to deteriorate; Sterrett describes the destruction of part of the theatre by the villagers of Polat.

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BUBOES IN THUCYDIDES?

In his article on *The Sickness at Athens*¹ Mr. Watson Williams gives strong reasons for identifying the sickness with bubonic plague, and then goes on to say regretfully, 'Thucydides, it is true, does not mention buboes'. But are we so sure that he does not? What are the *ἔλκη* which he mentions along with *φλύκταιναι* (ii. 49.5) as the outward manifestations of the disease? We have had no adequate explanation of these. Liddell and Scott render them as 'plague-ulcers', but this is obviously a conventional translation not based on any serious study of the symptoms of the sickness. Professor Page has given us a detailed discussion of Thucydides' medical vocabulary,² but has shed no light on the word *ἔλκος*. He begins by telling us that '*ἔλκος* is a term of general reference, most commonly signifying a lesion of the soft parts of the body (the context must decide whether "sore", "ulcer", "wound", or what else is intended)'; then, without any discussion of its context, we find him translating the word as 'sores'; and finally he seeks to persuade us that the phrase *φλυκταίνουσιν μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἑξηνθηκόσι* is equivalent to 'crimson or dusky red spots covering the greater part of the body'. Sir William MacArthur, arguing persuasively for typhus,³ and Professor Shrewsbury, pressing the claims of measles,⁴ approach the problems from the medical standpoint, without any serious discussion of vocabulary, and neither offers any comment on the meaning of *ἔλκος*. Other theorists appear to ignore it completely and concentrate on those symptoms which may be made to fit any infectious fever and particularly on those which are sufficiently vaguely described to allow of a little discreet distortion of the evidence. But surely we cannot hope to identify the sickness until we have decided what the *ἔλκη* are, for, in the absence of laboratory tests, it is after all mainly by the skin eruptions and other external manifestations that we distinguish one infectious fever from another.

It is true, of course, that in Greek medical terminology *ἔλκος* is, as Professor Page points out, a general term for any kind of lesion, but that does not justify our assuming that Thucydides was using the word vaguely and that it adds nothing of importance to his description of the sickness. It is clear that in this context, used to describe a regular symptom of an infectious fever, it had a specialised meaning (though not necessarily, of course, the meaning which I am going to suggest) and that it would convey that meaning to Thucydides' contemporaries without further description. From him we can determine only that it signifies some kind of skin eruption, but I would suggest that we may find out more about it by considering its use in other descriptions of infectious diseases; and I therefore propose now to consider the various passages in which *ἔλκος* is used in the context of an epidemic.

The earliest of these passages occurs in Hippocrates' account of an epidemic of a disease which he terms malignant erysipelas and which Mr. Watson Williams suggests may have been bubonic plague.⁵ This disease is described as taking various forms, and Hippocrates classifies the symptoms in ten sections:

1. *Φλεγμοναί* in various parts of the body, which usually suppurated with drastic sloughing, but sometimes disappeared without a sign and thereby caused the death of the patient. These were sometimes accompanied by fever.

2. *Φύματα* in throat, inflammation of tongue, abscesses around teeth; muffled voice; an early symptom in cases involving acute fever and in 'consumptive' cases.

¹ *Greece and Rome* iv (1957), 98-103.

² *CQ* iii (1953), 97-119, esp. 101, 110, 112, 116.

³ *CQ* iv (1954), 171-4; and *op. Gottnne, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, ii. 153.

⁴ *Bull. Hist. Med.* xxiv (1950), 1-25.

⁵ *Hp. Epid.* iii, *κατάστασις* 2-15.

3. Acute and fatal fevers:

(a) Burning fevers: coma, nausea, shivering, acute fever, slight epistaxis; later coma or wakefulness with pain; often loss of speech, sweating.

(b) Delirious fevers: similar to the burning fevers; dull stupor rather than raving delirium.

4. Ulceration of mouth; discharges round genitals; *έλκώματα* and *φύματα* in the groin; inflammation of eyes sometimes leading to blindness; various skin eruptions.

5. Bowel disorders—invariably fatal.

6. Loss of appetite; thirst in some cases.

7. Disorders of urine.

8. Coma, especially in cases of acute fever.

9. Indeterminate fevers usually leading to recovery; sometimes followed by dropsy.

10. 'Consumption' attacking chiefly those who were already suffering from respiratory ailments; invariably fatal; shivering, acute fever, cold sweats, bowel disorders, wasting, painless coughing, loss of appetite, coma, oedema; shivering and delirium just before death.

It was at its worst in the spring, eased in the summer, but grew rather worse in the autumn and winter, 'consumptive' cases becoming especially prevalent again in the autumn. Most patients died on the fourth day.

Hippocrates first describes in detail the alarming results of the *φλεγμοναί* which he considered to be the characteristic feature of the disease. He then terminates the discussion of local symptoms and turns to consider the general condition of the patient with the words, *τὰ μὲν περὶ ἔλκεα καὶ μετὰ πρόφασιν τοιαῦτα. πολλοῖσι δὲ ἐν πυρετοῖσι καὶ πρὸ πυρετοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πυρετοῖσι συνέπιπτεν.* Here *ἔλκεα* almost certainly refers to the injuries caused by the process of suppuration, which Hippocrates describes as *φοβερώτερα ἢ κακίω*, since, although extensive sloughing might lay bare the bones, the suppuration usually led to the patient's eventual recovery. Chadwick and Mann take *ἔλκεα* as referring back to the phrase *ἐπὶ σμικροῖσι τραυματίοις* at the beginning of the chapter, but this is an improbable interpretation. A long passage dealing with the effects of suppuration has intervened and the word *ἔλκεα* is most naturally taken as referring to that. Moreover Hippocrates has been at pains to emphasise the extreme triviality of the injuries which might give rise to these symptoms and has used the word *τραυματία* to convey that idea. As he took this disease to be a form of erysipelas, he expected to find it caused in most cases by a neglected injury, but in fact he could find no more than the very tiniest injuries aggravated by only the slightest neglect, while in many cases the *φλεγμοναί* developed in spite of every care. To have referred later to the *τραυματία* by the word *ἔλκεα* would have tended to counteract the impression which he had been so careful to create; to have related all cases of *φλεγμοναί* to the existence of a neglected injury would have contradicted what he had already told us; and to have treated such injuries as separate from the *πρόφασιν* of which they were a subdivision would have been illogical. More decisive still is the general sense of the passage. Chadwick and Mann's rendering assumes that the *μὲν* and *δὲ* clauses contrast symptoms arising from a known cause with those occurring in the course of a fever; but in fact the contrast is between the local effects of the inflammation and suppuration which have already been described, and the general condition of the patient which is still to be discussed. The possibility of fever has already been mentioned in the description of the *φλεγμοναί*, and Hippocrates now takes up this possibility for further discussion.

This interpretation of *ἔλκεα* as referring to the results of the suppuration of the *φλεγμοναί* gains support from the use of the words *έλκώματα* and *ἔλκεα* in the fourth group of symptoms. This includes various eruptions, which are evidently on a smaller scale than the *φλεγμοναί*

of the first group. Among these Hippocrates lists *ρεύματα περὶ αἰδοῖα πολλά, ἐλκώματα, φύματα ἔξωθεν, ἔσωθεν τὰ περὶ βουβῶνας*,⁶ and it seems reasonable to suppose that the *ἐλκώματα* are similar to the *ἐλκεα* of the first group, but less extensive, while the *φύματα* are a smaller version of the *φλεγμοναί*. Further on there is another reference to the *ἐλκεα*. Hippocrates says *ἐπιφύσεις βλεφάρων ἔξωθεν, ἔσωθεν, πολλῶν φθείροντα τὰς ὀφθάλμους, ἃ σῦκα ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἐφύετο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλκείων πολλά καὶ ἐν αἰδοίοισιν*. The wording here seems to imply some connexion between *ἐπιφύσεις* and *ἐφύετο*. The *σῦκα* were apparently so called from their resemblance to the inside of a fig, and this would suggest that the phenomenon shared by the eyelids, the eyes, and the *ἐλκεα* may have been granulation, in the eyes as the result of prolonged inflammation, on the *ἐλκεα* as part of the process of healing.

To sum up, it would seem that Hippocrates observed two types of swelling, one of which he called *φλεγμονή*, extensive and highly inflamed, the other, which he termed *φύμα*, a more compact lump, and that, if these swellings suppurated, they became *ἐλκεα* and *ἐλκώματα* respectively. These may well have been bubonic swellings, as Mr. Watson Williams suggests, but in any event they behaved in much the same way and produced much the same results.

The word *ἐλκος* appears again in connexion with epidemics mentioned in the Septuagint. In Exodus (viii 1-11) the Egyptians, like the Athenians in Thucydides' epidemic, were afflicted with *ἐλκη, φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι, ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετράποσιν*, in the course of an epidemic which had apparently already killed off the cattle; and it is noteworthy that it was preceded by a plague of insects, the Hebrew word for which has puzzled modern scholars, but has been taken by the Greek translators of the Septuagint to mean 'fleas'. It is tempting to think that the creatures which infested the houses of the Egyptians at an earlier stage and which then died and lay about in stinking heaps were originally rats and that frogs hopped into the text because these creatures were said to have come from the river; but that is hardly susceptible of proof. This disease is probably the same as that which appears in the curse, *πατάξει σε Κύριος ἐλκει Αἰγυπτίῳ εἰς τὴν ἔδραν . . . ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι σε ἰσθῆναι*, in Deuteronomy (xxviii. 27). The phrase *εἰς τὴν ἔδραν* appears again as the name of the epidemic which attacked the Philistines (1 Kings v. 3-12, vi. 4, 5), an epidemic which was associated with an infestation of mice (or rats)⁷ and was terminated by making an offering of golden images of *ἔδραι* and of mice.⁸ Later on we hear that Hezekiah was afflicted with a *Θκος* which threatened to prove fatal but which was successfully treated by the application of a fig poultice (4 Kings xx. 1-7). This illness of Hezekiah's coincided with the invasion of Sennacherib, who, like the Philistines of an earlier age, had been troubled by mice (or rats),⁹ and who was obliged to withdraw from Hezekiah's territory because his army was stricken with a sudden and deadly epidemic.¹⁰ It is reasonable to conjecture that the epidemics of the Septuagint were outbreaks of bubonic plague and that the *ἐλκος* which could be treated by a fig poultice and which gave its name to the disease was a suppurating bubo.

It is, by the way, significant that these Greek terms, *ἐλκος* and *εἰς τὴν ἔδραν*, are not unthinking translations of the Hebrew, as *ἐλκος* was often rendered automatically into Latin *ulcus* and both *ἐλκος* and *ulcus* into English 'ulcer'. *ἐλκος* represents the Hebrew *רַחֵץ*

⁶ The phrase *τὰ περὶ βουβῶνας* seems a little awkward; perhaps we should read *φύματα ἔξωθεν, ἔσωθεν, ἐξ ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐξ ἐντὸς περὶ βουβῶνας*.

⁷ It is impossible to be certain whether mice or rats are intended, since the ancients did not distinguish between them.

⁸ Frazer (*Golden Bough*, viii. 283) compares these images of mice with the image of a mouse which is said to have stood beside Apollo's tripod in the god's

temple in the Troad, and suggests that the worship of Mouse (Smintheus) Apollo was instituted to avert plagues of mice. It is interesting to recall that it was to Apollo Smintheus that Chryses prayed in the *Iliad* (i. 29) to punish the Achaeans for their impiety and that the god responded by spreading a deadly pestilence among mules, dogs, and men.

⁹ Hdt. ii. 141.5.

¹⁰ LXX. 4 Ki. xix. 35-6. Cf. *Is.* xxxvii. 36-7.

which derives from the verb *πτω*, 'be hot', and obviously means much the same as the Greek word *φλεγμονή*; while *εἰς τὴν ἔδραν* is the translation of *הַצֵּד* which is connected with the verb *הָצַק*, 'swell', and is roughly equivalent to the Greek *φῦμα*. They are usually rendered in English by 'boil' and 'tumour' respectively. It is evident from this that the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible knew what was meant by the Hebrew words and also knew what the current Greek expressions were. It would seem, then, that *ἔλκος* had in popular speech been extended to cover all that Hippocrates had meant by *φλεγμονή* and *ἔλκος*, that is an inflammatory swelling in general and not merely in the stage of suppuration. The phrase *εἰς τὴν ἔδραν* is a curious one and must be a popular abbreviation of some such phrase as *φῦμα εἰς τὴν ἔδραν*, *ἔδρα* possibly being a genteel expression for *βουβών* and the whole phrase equivalent to the Hippocratic *τὰ περὶ βουβώνας*. The reference to images of *ἔδραι* suggests that the word *ἔδρα* came to be used, not of the site of the tumour, but of the tumour itself, exactly as it happened with the word *βουβών*.

The earliest certain description of bubonic plague is given by Rufus of Ephesus, who was writing in the reign of Hadrian.¹¹ He is the first medical writer, so far as we know, to use the word *βουβών* of plague buboes, although the word had previously been used of other swellings in the groin.¹² Rufus uses the word of all similar swellings and distinguishes those occurring in an attack of plague as *λοιμώδεις βουβῶνες*, referring to them also as *φλεγμοναί*. In the course of his account he remarks, *γένοιτο δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ ἐν αἰδοίῳ ὁ τοιοῦτος βουβών, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἔλκος τὸ λοιμώδες καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς ὃν λοιμώδη καλοῦσιν*.¹³ It appears, then, that he uses *βουβών* to cover both *φλεγμονή* and *φῦμα* and that *ἔλκος* is used in the same sense as in Hippocrates, to whose *βουβωνώδες πάθος* he makes a passing reference. Elsewhere in discussing a type of inflamed swelling termed *φύγεθρον*,¹⁴ he tells us that *τὸ δὲ περὶ βουβώνας συνίστασθαι τὸ ἔλκος πάντες ὁμοίως λέγουσιν*, and there again *ἔλκος* seems to be used of the wound resulting from suppuration of an inflammatory swelling.

Galen, writing a little later of the epidemic which ravaged the Roman Empire in the time of Marcus Aurelius and which is generally believed to have been an epidemic of plague,¹⁵ describes the case of a youth who was recovering from an attack with the words, *τότε νεανίσκος τις ἐνναταῖος ἐξήρθησεν ἔλκεσιν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ σωθέντες*. Galen gives us disappointingly little information about this epidemic, but he does tell us that *ἐξανθήματα μελάνια* were a feature of the disease¹⁶ and with that we may compare the words *τισὶ τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἐξήρθει τὸ σῶμα*, which occur in Procopius's account of the outbreak of bubonic plague at Byzantium in the reign of Justinian.¹⁷

So *ἔλκος* appears as a symptom of an infectious fever in seven different descriptions, whose dates range from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D. In Rufus it is specifically described as a plague symptom, as is obvious from the adjective *λοιμώδεις* which he uses of plague throughout the passage cited. In Hippocrates and again in Rufus it is used to describe the wound resulting from the suppuration of an inflammatory swelling. In the Septuagint it is used to translate the Hebrew word for an inflammatory swelling. Moreover, in the Septuagint, as in Thucydides, it is associated with *φλυκτίδες*, which are identical with *φλύκταιναι*, and in Galen with a black rash, which may perhaps be the same as the black *φλύκταιναι* included by Procopius among the symptoms of bubonic plague. It seems probable from this that *ἔλκος* was regularly used of a bubonic swelling, strictly of one which had suppured, popularly of any bubo, and even, in the phrase *Αἰγύπτιον ἔλκος*, of the disease itself.

¹¹ Ruf. ap. Orib. xliv. 14.

¹² Hp. *Epid.* ii. 3-5, iv. 42, v. 59, vi. 2, vii. 81.

¹³ It is surprising to find *πυρετός* used apparently of a local symptom. Possibly it may refer to a sensation of heat.



¹⁴ Ruf. ap. Orib. xliv. 18.


¹⁵ Gal. v. 12 (Kühn, vol. x, p. 361).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* (Kühn, vol. x, p. 367).

¹⁷ Procop. *Per.* ii. 22.30.

Could a 'term of general reference' be so used of a particular disease without any qualification? I think it could, in the same way that the English word 'ulcer', also a term of general reference, has come to be used of one particular ailment in popular speech. If someone says 'Poor old Smith has an ulcer', it will be assumed that Smith has a peptic ulcer. Any other kind of ulcer would need to be further defined, but 'ulcer' on its own has acquired a special meaning. So it seems with *έλκος* that the epithet *λοιμῶδες* was required only in strict medical parlance and that colloquially it could be used alone to describe a bubo, other uses of the word needing to be defined by the context. In Thucydides, of course, this use of *έλκος* is new and is confined to the symptom, but by the Hellenistic period it is more familiar and can be applied more loosely to the disease. The word *βουβών* is not, to our knowledge, used of a plague bubo before Rufus. In the fifth century it is used in the original sense of 'groin' and only later was transferred to a swelling in the groin and thence to similar swellings in other parts of the body, ultimately coming to be specialised in the sense of a plague bubo. Even Procopius seems conscious of the oddness of applying the term to buboes elsewhere than in the groin.¹⁸

The familiarity of the translators of the Old Testament with plague and its symptoms is to be explained by the fact that they were resident in Egypt, a country where plague seems to have been a frequent visitor. The plague of Procopius spread from Egypt,¹⁹ and Rufus mentions Egypt as one of the places where plague was prevalent.²⁰ Egyptian medical writings, too, give the impression that plague was well known there from a very early date. The Ebers Papyrus,²¹ which probably dates back to c. 1550 B.C. and certainly contains material dating even from the Old Kingdom, has two words for 'bubo',  *hsd* and  *stt*;

and it seems probable that the determinative  itself represents a bubo. This determinative was used with a number of medical words, which might have been used originally in connexion with plague. It came eventually to be used to denote medical words generally and is one of the determinatives which occur most frequently with such words. This suggests that the bubo typified disease to the Egyptian mind and dominated the thoughts of Egyptian doctors from the earliest times. It is interesting to note that, not only were the diseases of Exodus and Deuteronomy associated with Egypt, but the epidemic which struck the army of Sennacherib and that which is described by Thucydides both appear to have come from Egypt. If plague was known in Egypt before 1550 B.C. and was still prevalent there in the second century A.D., it is not unreasonable to suppose that it persisted there throughout the intervening period, to overwhelm Sennacherib in the eighth century B.C., to spread into the Greek world in the fifth century B.C. and to provide the translators of the Old Testament with their knowledge of it in the Hellenistic period.

The evidence of the passages which I have discussed indicates that *έλκος* was used of a bubonic swelling from the fifth century B.C., when the Greeks presumably first had occasion to write on the subject, to the second century A.D., when it was superseded by *βουβών*; and it now remains to consider whether that use of the word is appropriate to the passage in Thucydides. It certainly fits well with *ἐξηνηθηκός*, and the association with *φλύκταιναι* strongly supports the identification of Thucydides' *έλκη* with the *έλκη* of Exodus, which were accompanied by *φλυκτίδες*, and with the *έλκη* of Galen's epidemic, which probably also involved *φλύκταιναι*. The similarity of Thucydides' *έλκη* with those in the Hippocratic passage is suggested by Lucretius, for in his account of the sickness at Athens he says,

et simul ulceribus quasi inustis omne rubere
corpus, ut est per membra sacer dum diditur ignis.²²

¹⁸ Procop. *Pers.* ii. 22.17.

¹⁹ Ruf. ap. Orib. xliiv. 14.1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 22.6.

²¹ G. Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers* (Leipzig, 1875).

²² Lucr. vi. 1166-7.

The comparison here with erysipelas reminds us that Hippocrates identified his epidemic with 'malignant erysipelas', and this surely cannot be a coincidence. It seems that either Lucretius knew this passage of Hippocrates and believed his epidemic to be the same as that of Thucydides, or else he obtained the information from sources not available to us.²² At all events he must have visualised the *ἐλκῆ* of Thucydides as similar to the *ἐλκῆα* described by Hippocrates, or he would not have made the same comparison. Finally, on the negative side, it is difficult to imagine an alternative explanation of *ἐλκῆ* in Thucydides and no explanation has in fact been offered by modern scholars.

On the whole it seems probable that Thucydides' epidemic and that of Hippocrates are identical, but the two descriptions are in many ways very different from one another. The explanation of that may be that Hippocrates' account is that of an observer, Thucydides' that of a sufferer. Hippocrates places the emphasis on the external signs which he saw for himself; Thucydides dwells on the discomforts which he and other survivors would remember—the burning sensations in head and eyes, the violent retching, the feeling of internal heat, and the despondency which afflicted the victims. He gives no description of the *ἐλκῆ* and *φλύκταιναι*, because he was probably not much conscious of their appearance, only of their presence. This would probably account, too, for the preference given in popular speech to the word which strictly referred only to the later stages in the progress of the bubo. Most plague victims would have no inclination to take an interest in their symptoms in the earlier stages of the disease, and their most vivid recollections would be of the symptoms which accompanied convalescence. Another source of divergence between the two accounts lies in the different methods of presenting the facts. Hippocrates records the various forms of the disease as they occurred, grouping them roughly into categories according to the predominant symptoms of each form and bearing in mind that there were overlaps between categories and that no case was completely typical. Thucydides, on the other hand, tidies up the disorderly facts and presents a sort of composite picture, which combines all the outstanding symptoms of the disease, but which could hardly be true of any particular case.

To sum up, I do not claim that the evidence which I have discussed in this article proves that the sickness at Athens was bubonic plague: there are still many difficulties to be solved before the nature of the sickness can finally be determined. But I would claim that in the face of this evidence it can no longer be definitely stated that there are no buboes in Thucydides.

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²² The more important theories of Lucretius's sources are summarised in Bailey's edition of Lucretius (vol. iii, p. 1723).

ΔΕΔΥΚΕ ΜΕΝ Ἄ ΣΕΛΑΝΑ

PROFESSOR GOMME's approach to the study of Sappho and Alcaeus (*JHS* lvii (1957), 255 sqq.) is so different from mine that a detailed reply to his article would probably not be very profitable, except perhaps at one point¹ which may be of some general interest. He seems to wonder why the lines *δέδυκε μὲν ἄ σελάνα κτλ.* were excluded from *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*: these are lines which 'can charm most men's ears'; but 'Lobel and Page', being insensitive to poetry, 'have such a hate' of it that 'they have banished it not only from Sappho, but from Lesbian, and leave it lying about, not telling us what, if it is not Lesbian, it is'. Of course I reply for myself only, not for Mr. Lobel: and I say (i) that you ought not to speak of 'banishing' a poem from Sappho or from Lesbian if it was not assigned thereto by any ancient authority; (ii) that if I do not tell anybody 'what, if it is not Lesbian, it is', the reason is not perversity but ignorance: I do not know, nor does anybody else, who wrote these lines or when. They belong to a large category, the *adespota*, which we must 'leave lying about' simply because we do not know where to put them.

The difference between our approaches to the question at issue is very great. Here is mine: I observe (i) that the lines are not attributed to Sappho (or to anyone else) by Hephaestion or by those who quote them after him; (ii) if the question is raised whether they might be Lesbian: that the four lines include three features (*ἄ σελάνα, μέσαι, παρὰ*, all guaranteed by metre) which are contrary to normal Lesbian usage as exemplified in Sappho and Alcaeus; (iii) that the text itself does not contain any feature of dialect peculiar to Lesbian; (iv) that the stanza (whether it is a complete stanza or not) is metrically without parallel in Sappho or Alcaeus.—I do not adduce this fact as evidence *against* the attribution to Sappho, if such an attribution can be justified on other grounds; I merely observe that it is not *in favour*, and what the modern theory is looking for is evidence *in favour* of an attribution not made by the ancient source. In conclusion, therefore, I judge that the proper answer to the question, 'might this be Lesbian?', is that the text itself offers some evidence against that theory and none in favour of it. Consequently I should not adopt that theory, and I should not include this poem in a volume purporting to contain Lesbian verse.

Now consider Professor Gomme's method. He observes that 'Consbruch, p. 37, records the best MS. of Hephaestion as reading *σελάνῃ* a. . . . This seems unmistakable evidence that the poem is Lesbian (my italics); and we may confidently, therefore, restore the Lesbian forms *ἄ, ὦπα* and *κατεῦδω* and Lesbian accentuation, and note the characteristic elision of -αι in *ἔρχεται* (and of α in *μόνα* if <οὔ> is right)'. Unfortunately we cannot confidently restore the Lesbian forms *μέσαι* and *παρὰ*, or get rid of the definite article before *σελάνα*: these are therefore to be explained in the light of a special theory of the Lesbian vernacular; a theory very different from the principles which have been guiding most workers in this field in the light of Mr. Lobel's researches. We are to take as our starting-point a single

¹ And I briefly comment on one other, his remarks on Sappho, fr. 1, where I cannot reconcile my views with his statement of them. Professor Gomme might have guessed that something was amiss in his understanding of what I wrote: for his counter-argument depends upon the remarkable (and explicit) assertion that in interpreting this poem I actually 'forgot' vv. 18-19, and then 'forgot' vv. 21-4. I hope I shall not be thought immodest if I venture to suggest that it was really very unlikely that I

should 'forget' all these verses or my own interpretation of them; I have not even forgotten certain other interpretations of them, though I should be quite glad to do so. It is relevant to notice that numerous writers and reviewers have fully understood (and with very few exceptions approved) my interpretation of this poem, founded as it is mainly on the account given of just these lines which I am now said to have forgotten.

letter not in the text but added to the text; and then we are to bring all the adverse evidence by one means or another into conformity with our theory.

As for the statement that the ν added to $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ offers 'unmistakable evidence that the poem is Lesbian': here again we differ in our methods. It is unfortunate that the 'unmistakable evidence' should have been misprinted in Professor Gomme's article; for the misprint is of a misleading nature. The word is printed thus, $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu^{\nu}\alpha$, as if some space had been left for the second ν ; in which case the textual critic might have inferred (not necessarily correctly) that $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ was the main tradition, the spelling in the model of cod. A. Even then he would be very ill-advised to leap to the conclusion that this was 'unmistakable evidence that the poem is Lesbian': he should look to see whether the indication thus provided is confirmed, or not, by the remainder of the poem; for he will be aware that odds and ends of Lesbian spelling occur from time to time in non-Lesbian verses in this notoriously unreliable quotation-tradition. But in fact Consbruch reports the reading of cod. A as ' $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ [sic]'—the *sic* is Consbruch's—i.e. $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ was written, and the second ν was suprascribed afterwards; so our hope of determining what was the true tradition in this place, doubtful enough before, is now dispelled. For nobody can tell which of several things was in the model of cod. A: (i) $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, miscopied but corrected by cod. A; (ii) $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, accurately copied by cod. A: in that case we shall remain wholly ignorant of the authority and source of the suprascription in the model; (iii) $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, the suprascription first occurring in cod. A: again, we shall know nothing of its source or authority (if any). In brief, we do not know whether $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ has any more claim to a place in the true tradition than the obviously incorrect attempts at Lesbian spelling in the second line in cod. I ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, uncompromisingly $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ in its twin cod. M); and even if it had a good claim, it would be our duty next to examine that claim in relation to other evidence in the text, not simply to accept it as 'unmistakable evidence that the poem is Lesbian'.

So back the poem goes to where it came from, the *adespota*. May I just add that I do not really *hate* it: even to me it has a certain charm, though I much prefer it as the tradition offers it, not yet purified by the interpolation of $\alpha\upsilon$ before $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\iota$.

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A REPLY

I am sorry that $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ was printed $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu^{\nu}\alpha$; but I do not think that the mistake will mislead—it should not lead anyone to suppose that in the codex 'a space was left for the second ν ', for, had there been such a space, it would not have been necessary to write it above. The second ν means, surely, a variant spelling: whether because the copyist had first written the commoner $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ and corrected it (from his original), or had found both the commoner form and the variant in the original, or had by him another text, whether of Hephaestion or of the poem in another codex, in which he found $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ and recorded the variant himself (the kind of variant which now and again gives us readings of value even from *deteriores* and *recentiores*), we do not know; but as $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ is by far the rarer form this variant is not likely to be due to carelessness or to a guess or whim, but is 'unmistakable evidence' (not irrefutable proof by any means, but *evidence* that we cannot mistake) that the Aeolic spelling was the original. I did not add the other variant, for $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, because $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ was a better known spelling than $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$; it is therefore less cogent, but is some evidence (since $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ was the usual form) that an ancient editor or copyist whose knowledge of dialect was better than his knowledge of metric took the poem to be in dialect, and,

in this case, Aeolic. And, let me repeat, the forms μέσος (apparently) and παρά are found in Alkaios.

I am also sorry that in my criticism of Professor Page's interpretation of Sappho 1, my words 'he forgets vv. 18-19' should offend. I was thinking particularly of ἐς σάν φιλότατα. As Professor Beattie says in his review of *Sappho and Alcaeus* (*JHS* lxxvii, 321), the 'rule' that διαίκεω must mean 'pursuing someone who is running away' (or 'is taking avoiding action') is based on its frequent use in war and sport, and, we may add, in the law court; and the alternative to supposing that Professor Page 'forgot' vv. 18-19 seems to be that he would include in the concept φιλότης the relationship between a victorious army and its fleeing enemy, between hunter and hunted, and between the opposing parties in a lawsuit. It was of course also common to use διαίκεω with an object such as fame, wealth, virtue; and though these may be fickle, one could hardly suggest that they are seeking to escape the pursuer. I can perhaps just imagine Lady Bellaston making such a prayer to Venus to help her wreak vengeance on Tom Jones; but if Professor Page regards Sappho 1 as a poem of revenge, playful in parts, his approach to Sappho and mine are indeed so far apart that there is no sure basis for discussion.

Or it is parody, or playful mockery, of a prayer to Aphrodite: 'what is all the fuss about?' Professor Page says no: the pain is real (for the moment), μανόλαι θύμωι, χαλέπαν ἐκ μερίμναν are not playful; but 'tomorrow it will be she who chases, you who run, tomorrow you will pray as heartily for release as today for requital' (p. 16). Sappho's prayer is, 'aid me, goddess, and persuade her back', ἐς ἐμὴν φιλότατα—that would be her release from pain.

A. W. GOMME.

THE CASTING-TECHNIQUE OF CERTAIN GREEK BRONZES

It is here suggested that the carved effect of many Greek bronzes, or of parts of them, is due rather to their having been cast from carved originals than to extensive tooling of the metal cast as is frequently assumed.

Many of the early small Greek bronzes (Geometric and Archaic: especially at Olympia) present this appearance, looking as if they had been carved rather than modelled. This could be explained in one of two ways: (1) by assuming very extensive tooling of the bronze after casting from a modelled original; or (2) by assuming that this original was carved and not modelled.

The first seems to be tacitly accepted by many writers, and is explicitly stated by some.¹ It is of course entirely possible; but after all the Greek craftsmen were practical men, and extensive tooling is not only laborious and therefore expensive, but is also dangerous in that any slip of the tool may ruin not only the cast but the whole work of the artist if this was originally in wax, lost by *cire perdue* casting. If it were possible to do the carving on the original, of some material softer than bronze, and above all if it were possible to replace and re-carve a mis-carved portion of that original, any sculptor would be inclined to prefer such a process to cold work on the bronze.

The second assumes that the original was carved. Seltman² definitely adopts it: 'from about 800 B.C. for more than three centuries the Greeks generally made their small bronzes from carved wooden models', by means of 'wet clay moulds, which, after being sun-dried, would be taken from the wooden figures and fired'. Against this is the fact that it would not be possible to remove those 'clay moulds' except in many separate parts, owing to the under-cutting of many of the examples he figures; and this for originals only a few inches high, so that these parts would be so minute as almost to demand tweezers and a watch-maker's glass to handle them. As any practical moulder would confirm, the process even with plaster would be very difficult, with clay practically impossible, owing to the shrinkages and distortions which occur, or tend to occur, during drying and firing, and owing also to the fragility of dry but unfired clay, making damage during the removal of the parts of the mould almost inevitable.

Some other explanation is therefore required; and it is here suggested that this is supplied by a consideration of the technique in use today by the craftsmen of Kandy in Ceylon (and no doubt also elsewhere), that of carving the original to be moulded from a block of *hard* wax, far harder than the wax normally used for finger-modelling, which is then cast by the *cire perdue* process. This of course not only gives the finished cast a carved appearance, but also completely removes the difficulties inherent in multi-piece moulding, since the outer clay mould is now merely broken away from the metal which has replaced the wax within it—with, of course, the disadvantage that only one piece can be cast from each wax original. It also removes the risk of losing the whole work, since if the carving-tool should slip, the spoiled part of the wax can be cut away, a new section added (with local heat) to replace it, and the carving re-done.

It is, of course, equally easy to produce hollow statues by this method of carved wax. The only modifications of the normal *cire perdue* technique are that the inner clay core is here made somewhat smaller than usual, and less worked, and that the layer of wax covering it is somewhat thicker than usual, and of far harder wax than that used for finger-

¹ For example, Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 677: 'Die Zeichnung der Haarlinien ist an unserem Kopfe, wie überhaupt an allen altgriechischen Bronzen, nur durch Ciselierung hergestellt' (my italics).

² Seltman, pp. 36 ff.

modelling. This layer is then carved, and the rest of the process is the same as for a modelled original.

It may be added that, in this technique, should a smooth surface be desired as part of the object, it is not necessary to resort to slow and careful scraping of the wax, but instead this can be finger-modelled after applying local heat, as is done in Kandyan work. Thanks to the courtesy of the Curator at the Olympia Museum it was possible to examine a number of the small early bronzes there under magnification, and it appeared probable that in some cases this auxiliary technique had been used, more especially for the bodies of the ex-voto horses, giving a very pleasing contrast to the carved heads and harness.

Seltman's book shows a number of small bronzes, most of which would have been practically impossible to mould and cast from wooden originals, though of course easy by *cire perdue*.² In a few cases, however, the originals seem to have been deliberately so designed that a two-piece mould would suffice,³ and these could of course have been cast from wooden models, though wax ones would have been equally practical. In any case, the only reason for preferring a mould to *cire perdue* would be that a number of replicas of one original were desired; and mass production was not a feature of early Greek bronze-casting. Pernice⁴ shows many examples where several copies of the same ornamental piece were needed, and where these, or the wax models for them, could have been readily cast in a two- or even one-piece mould, but where they were nevertheless each modelled separately in wax, as is shown by small differences in their dimensions. In Egypt mouldings for the repetitive production of wax models for *cire perdue* were frequent⁵; in Greece practically unknown up to Hellenistic times, and even then rare, Pernice concludes.⁶ Richter's phrase⁷ that 'in early Greek work every bronze piece . . . is an original work', is in fact hardly an exaggeration.

Of the other writers who deal with the technique of the small early Greek bronzes, two only besides Seltman were found who stress this carved effect (although Kluge⁸ does so for large bronzes): D. K. Hill,⁹ writing of one of six Geometric animal-pieces, 'with its cut shoulders suggestive of wood-carving'; and Kunze,¹⁰ writing of 'almost wooden form'. (Neither of these two latter are to be read, of course, as postulating wooden originals.) Hill also adds that 'All the animals were cast . . . in no instance is there positive indication of chiselling, filing, or hammering by hand'—which is practically equivalent to concluding that the carving was done on the wax original. Childe¹¹ goes a step further, though not for Greek work, writing, 'it is possible that the marvellous curvilinear patterns that adorn Hungarian and Scandinavian bronzes, were engraved, not with hammer and chisel on the hard bronze itself, but on the [relatively] soft wax of the model'. And Edgar,¹² though again not dealing with Greek work, writes for Egypt that 'a small figure of average workmanship was practically finished once the metal had been poured in and the mantle removed. Little or nothing required to be added with the graving-tool: even such minor details as the markings of the pupils were executed on the model'. This, of course, assumes the use of hard wax, since 'such minor details' cannot be carved on modern modelling-wax.

But for Greek work, with the exception of the one remark by Hill quoted above, the only writer found who realises the probability that the details of small pieces were put in on the wax and not on the metal is Casson,¹³ who writes of sixth-century bronzes that they were 'cast complete in every detail'. And even he does not go on to make the point that,

² E.g. Seltman, pls. 25, 29.

³ E.g. Seltman, pls. 16, 28, 34.

⁴ Pernice in *Jahrb.*, 1904, 154 ff.

⁵ Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, pp. 111 ff. These are mostly of plaster, and therefore obviously unsuitable for casting metals.

⁷ But Roeder in *Jahrb.*, 1933, 244, 245, and Wolters, pp. 245 ff., disagree.

⁸ Richter, *Metropolitan Museum*, p. xx. Also in her *Handbook* (1930), p. 76, of a tripod, 'the feet are not cast from the same mould, though at first sight identical'. The weight of evidence seems to favour Pernice and Richter.

⁹ *Jahrb.*, 1929, 1 ff.

¹⁰ *AJA*, 1933, 42, 43.

¹¹ *Bericht*, 108.

¹² *Greek Bronzes*, ii, iii.

¹³ Childe, 36.

¹⁴ *JHS* xlii, 1922, 209.

in these bronzes as in the pieces described by Hill and Kunze, the originals must have been of hard wax, tool-carved, since it is impossible to put in the fine details with the soft finger-modelling wax generally used. (Incidentally, the use of this wax might possibly be the explanation of the form of the crude early statuettes which he thinks is due to a technique of hammering and welding.)

Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben¹⁵ completely contradict Seltman, writing of the early small bronzes that 'the models for such small figures, usually heavily undercut, were undoubtedly of wax'; but make no mention of their carved appearance, still less give any explanation of it. Walters¹⁶ describes the *cire perdue* process, but restricts it to hollow casting, adding that 'for statues which required a round mould, or one in several pieces, some such material as sand, clay, or gypsum must have been used', which is certainly not the case for the early small pieces. Lamb¹⁷ appears to support multi-piece moulding for the Olympia horses, writing that 'the casting of the slender legs cannot have been easy', which is not the case if *cire perdue* was used. Of some very primitive human figures she writes that 'they may well have been cast from the same moulds as the terracottas themselves', which could well be true; but true for such almost shapeless bronzes only, where undercutting is absent.

Apart from the one paper quoted above, Casson¹⁸ deals almost exclusively with the large early bronzes, stressing their carved appearance, and agreeing with Kluge¹⁹ that they were cast from wooden originals in sand moulds. This is almost certainly true, in spite of Forbes' opinion,²⁰ that 'sand-casting was not practised in antiquity; this is an invention of the eighteenth century'; but true only for such large work, not for the small bronzes. Casson, however, considers²¹ that the more elaborate parts even of such large early bronzes (heads, perhaps also hands and feet) were often cast from wax, and quotes the head of the Delphi Charioteer as a case in point, stating that in so doing he is following Kluge; but the reference he gives is to Kluge's 1929 paper, which insists, on what appears to be irrefutable evidence, that this head was also cast, in several parts, from wood.²² It seems, however, certain that Casson is correct as regards other large statues of a somewhat later date, where the heads appear to have been cast in one piece: for example, that of the Poseidon (or Zeus) in the Athens National Museum, which Kluge himself considers to be from *cire perdue*. If so, it may here be added, there seems to exist the probability that whereas the greater part of such statues were finger-modelled in relatively soft wax, the very extensive tooling which would have been necessary to bring out, for example, the curls of the beard and hair if the original were entirely finger-modelled, was economically avoided by tooling of the wax original, after attaching (with local heat) sections of hard wax where such sharpness was desired.²³

Richter,²⁴ like Kluge, realises the evidence for wax, writing that 'both in hollow and solid casting the Greeks mostly used the so-called *cire perdue* process'. This process is briefly described by him: more fully in Neugebauer²⁵ and Blümner,²⁶ though for hollow casting only.

¹⁵ *Antiken Grossbronzen*, 79.

¹⁶ *Catalogue*, xxx.

¹⁷ *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 39.

¹⁸ *Technique*, 155.

¹⁹ *Jahrb.*, 1929, I ff.

²⁰ *Metallurg.*, 133, 134.

²¹ *Technique*, 157.

²² Cf. also the head described by Furtwängler in *Intermezzi*.

²³ In spite of Furtwängler's opinion quoted in n. 1 above. Writing of the use of wax casts as *cire perdue* models (cf. n. 6 above) in *Jahrb.*, 1933, 249, Walters remarks that, having such a cast before him, the craftsman 'could decide whether to cut a groove in the wax, or do so in the metal after casting'. There seems to be little doubt what a practical man would 'decide' in such a case; and the remark is of course

equally apposite if instead of a wax cast he has before him his own wax original, always providing that this is in wax hard enough to take a fine cut. As a matter of interest, the soft modelling wax may be something like five parts of beeswax to one of turpentine, with small quantities of other substances 'to taste'; the hard wax previously used at Kandy was about thirty parts of beeswax to one of turpentine, although owing to its cost it has been supplanted today by candle-wax with a very small quantity of coconut-oil added.

²⁴ *Sculpture and Sculptors*, 136, 137.

²⁵ *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, 285 ff.

²⁶ *Technologie und Terminologie*, 58 ff.

In summary, apart from the isolated remarks by Hill and Kunze, only Seltman stresses the carved quality of many of the early small Greek bronzes, but is led by his lack of familiarity with the carved-wax technique to assume carved wooden originals, involving the very impractical multi-piece moulding. The other writers on these small bronzes either omit any consideration of the methods used, or correctly postulate the use of wax originals, but fail to explain why so many of the statuettes look as if carved. No writer on them seems to have appreciated the possibilities of carved hard wax plus *cire perdue*: which is why it is thought that the suggestion here made may be of some value.

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EUNOIA IN ISOCRATES OR THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF CREATING GOOD WILL

EUNOIA, in Greek, is something more than good will: it means approval, sympathy and readiness to help. Having such meanings, it soon came to be applied to politics in a number of ways, as describing one's feeling towards a person, or a party, or the city—or even another city. And this last instance which is connected with foreign politics, is what we shall here be dealing with. It is what Isocrates himself is most interested in, for out of sixty examples of the word about twenty-five refer specifically to the relations between one city and another city. And it is the meaning that deserves to be studied, particularly among people who like Thucydides. Whether it is φόβος or δέος, fear, in Thucydides, seems to dominate all relations between the cities of Hellas—and, to begin with, between Athens and other cities: well, eunoia, or good will, is the contrary of fear. That is to say, when Isocrates wants eunoia to rule political life, he wants things to be just the opposite of what they were in the world that Thucydides had described. Indeed, the position he adopts when discussing good will is part of an important controversy that was then being conducted about force and justice, might and right. And so, even if he is not himself a very thrilling writer nor a very intelligent man, it seemed worth while trying to find out how the idea arose both from recent experiments in Greece and from personal tendencies of Isocrates; and how he hoped the notion of eunoia could work in contemporary politics.

I

I have already mentioned Thucydides; and I think one should always begin with him. For, among other reasons, it is true that, whenever one tries to understand the political ideas that were current in the fourth century, one gets the feeling that everything is more or less to be explained by what the fifth century had experienced.

In Thucydides, it is clearly and firmly stated that cities, which ought to have been kept loyal by their own good will, were in fact kept obedient by fear (iii. 12). The eunoia of Greece as a whole, so we are told, is largely on the side of Sparta and against Athens (ii. 8). And Athens knows it; she accepts it, again and again. Diodotos is the only one who wants to make use of the eunoia which democrats in the cities felt towards Athens (iii. 47.2): the others do not care; they just do not believe in eunoia. And when two different views about human life are confronted at Melos, the Athenian view is that eunoia does not mean any more to the Lacedaemonians than it does in Athens (v. 109: τὸ δ' ἔχρον γὰρ τοῖς ξυναγωνιούμενοις οὐ τὸ εὖνουν τῶν ἐπικαλεσάντων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ἔργων τις δυνάμει πολὺ προύχῃ). In other words, Athens accepts the wager of maintaining her domination against the will of all others.

Sparta, on the contrary, knows that this is a good argument for her. The most intelligent of her men, Brasidas, tries to make use of it by visiting the cities and claiming that they should not only feel eunoia towards the Lacedaemonians (iv. 114.4: πολλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅσω δικαιότερα πράσσουσιν, εὖνους ἂν σφίσι γενέσθαι); but prove it by some real and genuine co-operation (iv. 87.3: ὅπως μὴ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὖνῳ, εἰ μὴ προσαχθήσεσθε, τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίους βλέπωνται).¹ That is to say Sparta could acquire some practical power based on eunoia: in a way, this is the first step leading to the ideal Alcibiades lets Sparta dream about, when he says that the Lacedaemonians could govern Greece by consent (vi. 92.5): ἐκούσης καὶ οὐ βίᾳ, κατ' εὖνοιαν δὲ ἡγήσθαι.

¹ A different view of this passage is suggested in Gomme, *Commentary*, ad loc.

Of course, these ideas are only roughly outlined there. None the less, they have the kind of mathematical precision that everything has in Thucydides. And, if regarded in the light of the way the war ended, such ideas could, undoubtedly, suggest quite a number of reflexions.

And so they did. For we find in different authors some very similar criticism about the danger of disregarding eunoia.

The first of these ideas is that if one relies on force only and faces universal discontent, he may well come against a coalition of those who seem to be weaker than himself. The Melians suggest it in Thucydides, v. 98; and the idea is to be found both in Plato and Isocrates. In Plato, Socrates uses it against Callicles and says that the many are stronger than any single man, however strong he may be (*Gorgias*, 488d). In Isocrates, it should check the imperialist ambitions of Athens; for if she is stronger than any single state, she is weaker than the rest in combination (*On the Peace*, 134).

Therefore, if a city attacks the liberty of other cities, it prepares its own ruin and works for the rival city. And each leading city in its turn—Athens, for instance, or Sparta after her—as it grows too powerful, paves the way for the other's rise. The idea comes out in Thucydides, in the speech delivered by the Athenian envoys at Sparta (i. 75.1; 77.6); and it is to be found both in Xenophon and in Isocrates. In Xenophon, the Thebans remind the Athenians of this law: 'You too', they say, 'you then had to reckon with the most numerous enemies, when you commanded over the most numerous cities' (*Hell.* iii. 5.10). And Isocrates, in the speech *On the Peace*, shows that sea-power has always been the beginning of all misfortunes: for Athens, who then met with hate, instead of good will (78); for Sparta, whose downfall everybody wished: 'Did we not choose to pursue a policy in consequence of which the Lacedaemonians became masters of the Hellenes? Did not they, in their turn, manage their supremacy so badly that not many years later we again got the upper hand and became the arbiters of their safety? Did not the meddlesomeness of the partisans of Athens cause the various states to become partisans of Sparta, and did not the insolence of the partisans of Sparta force these same states to become partisans of Athens?' (107-8).

Therefore, justice seems to be necessary for whoever wants to maintain any kind of power. The idea is to be found both in Plato and Isocrates; and each of them—one in the first book of the *Republic* (351c), the other one in the *Panathenaicus* (226)—uses the same simile and speaks of this special kind of concord which enables even robbers, brigands and pirates to succeed in their attempts. Critics then say: of course, Isocrates is here recalling Plato.² I am not so sure that is right. What I feel sure about is that there must have been much discussion, in many places, starting from one and the same origin, and fed by arguments which became conventional, almost classic. And it should be added that this discussion seems to have arisen in connexion with foreign politics. In the *Gorgias*, when Callicles undertakes to show that, according to the law of nature, the strongest should get more, he only refers to wars, mentioning Xerxes and Darius (483c). And, in a similar, yet still more remarkable way, the passage we just mentioned in the *Republic* (about the usefulness of concord) starts with the question: 'Tell me, doesn't there exist some state that behaves unjustly, and tries to enslave others or has enslaved them, and holds several of them in slavery?' The Athenian empire, once more, seems to be at the bottom of it all; and reflexion about right seems to have arisen in connexion with might.

Therefore, we should not say that in this case—as well as in others which also sound somewhat familiar both in Plato and Isocrates (for instance when they discuss the two meanings of equality or the good and bad kinds of democracy)³—we can trace any precise

² Cf., for instance, G. Mathieu, *Les idées politiques d'Isocrate*, Paris, 1925, p. 181.

³ *Nicoles* 14 and *Arope* 21, to be compared with *Rep.* 558c. For the interpretation, see Wendland,

'Beiträge zu ath. Politik und Publicistik', *GGN*, 1910, pp. 158-9 n. 1 and Wilamowitz, *Arist. und Athen*, i. p. 72 n. 45 (and the keen remarks *ibid.*, ii. 383 n. 6).

affiliation. A general kinship, yes. The memory of things often discussed, probably. But nothing more. Our two authors do seem to answer one another directly when dealing with education; on the question of politics, they are but isolated witnesses, few among many.

This will perhaps appear more clearly if we now consider what can be called the positive side of the theory about good will. For all the critical remarks we have seen about the danger of disregarding *eunoia* lead to a sort of praise of *eunoia*, which is to be found in several authors. And here I should like to mention, along with Isocrates, both Xenophon and Demosthenes.

In a way, all the works of Xenophon are really a description of the good commander, as one whose orders men are willing to obey. Be it a king or a captain, or only the manager of farm or housework, the question always ends in establishing such a system of rewards that *eunoia* should become natural. This general idea can, of course, have an impact on politics; one should remember Theramenes explaining, in the *Hellenica*, how silly and irrational were the Thirty, who, by being unjust, necessarily raised hostility against their own government. And one should remember also the way Xenophon explains to Seuthes, in the *Anabasis*, how much wiser it would be for him to behave in such manner that the Greek troops should have good will towards him. But, on the whole, politics are not his main concern: Xenophon always thinks according to military experience, and the good will he is interested in is of the kind one can find in one's soldiers. Which, I should say, makes things only more interesting, as it shows that, so far as *eunoia* is concerned, Xenophon owes nothing to Isocrates, or Isocrates to him.

Not so with Demosthenes. For, as he fights Philip and seeks arguments against him, Demosthenes does not miss the opportunity of stressing the importance *eunoia* has in international life. Hence the resemblances one can point out between the second *Olynthiac* and several works by Isocrates. They have been discussed often enough, and particularly by Mesk,⁴ although it must be said that every scholar gives a different list for these passages. But there are at least some features which really recur in both authors. Isocrates had said Persia would be easily defeated because there was no energy in its people and no good will in the surrounding countries (*Panegyricus*, 135, 150): Demosthenes says the same about Philip (*Olynth.*, ii. 7-8, 16). If Persia had such a great influence on the events in Greece, that is only because a small addition to one side can produce great changes (*Pan.*, 139): Demosthenes says the same about Macedonia (ii. 14). And the real reason of Philip's weakness is indeed clearly stated, when Demosthenes refers to the idea of *eunoia*. For Philip's power, he says, is among those which rest on covetousness and knavery, and will, therefore, collapse; on the contrary, those powers should last that are held together by good will (*ὅπ' εὐνοίας*) and in which everybody shares the same interest (ii. 9). And that leads us to his fine declaration in the speech *On the Chersonese*, when he asks: 'What is a city's wealth, if not her allies, and the trust and good will she meets with': *συνμάχους, πίστιν, εὐνοίαν* (viii. 66; which is repeated, and also paraphrased, in the fourth *Philippic*, x. 69, 50).

Well, nobody ever thought of bringing these last passages in connexion with Isocrates; and I am not suggesting that one should. The phraseology is quite different, and it would not be safe to speak about influences, when we have nothing more precise to start with.⁵ The only conclusion one can draw from this general affinity is, once again, that the idea was appearing in several ways at one and the same time, each particular author giving it some special direction and form.

Among the authors we have just been considering, it is true that Demosthenes seems to be closer to Isocrates than are any others. But we can already find out some difference, even before we look at things more closely.

⁴ 'Demosthenes und Isokrates', *WSt* xxiii (1901), 209-12. *Republic*, even in some similes (§21, compared with *Rep.* 556c).

⁵ The second *Olynthiac* also resembles Plato's

First, in quantity: although the fourth century was greatly impressed by the danger of disregarding eunoia, yet Isocrates seems to have been more affected than any other by these ideas, for, as we compared several authors to show the existence of this common inspiration, one part of the comparison was always Isocrates: Plato and Isocrates, Xenophon and Isocrates, Demosthenes and Isocrates; every line seems to be leading towards him.

But that is not all. For if we quote but one sentence of his about eunoia, we can easily grasp the difference between them in spirit and manner. With Isocrates we find a real and systematic creed, which applies, and can readily be verified, and must therefore be confidently accepted even for the future. Let us quote, for instance, what he says about Timotheos (*Antidosis*, 122): 'Timotheos realised that men who are afraid hate those who inspire this feeling in them, and that it was due to the friendship of the other cities that Athens rose to great power and prosperity, just as it was due to their hatred that she barely escaped the most disastrous fate. Bearing in mind these facts, he used the power of Athens in order to subdue her enemies, and the force of his own character in order to win the good will of the rest of the world, believing that this is a greater and nobler kind of generalship than to conquer many cities many times in battle.'

One can see the difference. We come across isolated suggestions elsewhere, but here we find something absolute, authoritative, peremptory. And to explain such a difference, there is but one explanation: that is, if the fifth-century experiment was like a seed, which developed differently according to the different minds and purposes of people, Isocrates' mind and habits surely offered an especially favourable ground, where it could easily take root and give a particularly rich and substantial harvest.

II

The reason why Isocrates gave so much importance to the idea of eunoia is the stress he continually lays on opinion, in the widest meaning of the word.

I do not mean only that, teaching rhetoric, he had to keep in mind the importance of *captatio benevolentiae*. I mean that he believes in the importance of persuading people; and he believes that this is nothing artificial. On the contrary, he thinks that this business of persuading people, which of course is the way to success, is closely bound up with sound reflexion and wholesome morals. Opinion, for him, is not only effective: it is legitimate.

Opinion being legitimate . . . that does not sound much like Plato. And indeed it is easy to collect a certain number of passages where Isocrates defends the value of *doxa*, opinion, against empty wishes for an impossible *episteme*, or science.⁶ This position of his is what M. Mikkola started with, in his recent book about Isocrates,⁷ and quite rightly, in my opinion. But he interpreted these passages as if they were intended to express some theory about knowledge and implied some kind of relativism, in the style of Protagoras or even Heraclitus, which they do not. Nothing, I should think, was more remote from Isocrates' mind. He only meant that there did not exist any actual science saying how one should behave, and that it did not matter much, for opinion might very well, in such things, be considered as sufficient. It is not relativism; it is optimism. It shows that Isocrates trusts people's judgment.

And so he does. That is why he considers speaking and persuading people as being such an important thing in man's life. Speech, he says in the well-known eulogy which is to be found both in the *Nicoles* (5-9) and in the *Antidosis* (253-7), is what all our social life was established by. And how could that be? because it brings people to agreement, and because what people agree about is obviously right—whether we mean right and true ideas, or right and just feelings. Therefore, why not trust opinion? Isocrates is proud to

⁶ Cf. recently, Ph. Merlan, 'Isocrates, Aristotle and Alexander the Great', *Historia*, iii (1954-5), p. 60-81.

⁷ *Isokrates, Seine Anschauungen im Lichte seiner Schriften*, Helsinki, 1954.

do so, and, criticising the others, he writes (*Antidosis*, 84): 'They exhort their followers to a kind of virtue and wisdom which is ignored by the rest of the world and is disputed among themselves; I, to a kind which is recognised by all!'

Therefore, people's judgment becomes a thing worth considering. And from *δόξα* meaning opinion, we are led to *δόξα* meaning reputation. Because the judgment about them will, on the whole, be sound, the men who want success will try to be approved of—and this by means of virtue. The orator will choose a theme which deserves approbation and, meditating upon such themes, he will soon feel a good influence 'in all the actions of his life'. And 'it follows, then, that the power to speak well and think right will reward the man who approaches the art of discourse with love of wisdom and love of honour' (notice the two words, *φιλοσοφίας καὶ φιλοτίμους*). What is more, if one desires success, 'he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow citizens' (*Antidosis*, 278); the word, here, is *εὐδοκμεῖν* an all-important word in Isocrates (where it recurs 87 times), a word which of course means being well considered, but which is nearly the same as producing *eunoia*. Indeed, the passage ends with a final mention of the power of good will' (*τῇ τῆς εὐνοίας δυνάμει*).

This philosophy of opinion, then, makes it clear that, in all matters, *eunoia* can be a most legitimate end to aim at. It is founded on valuable opinion and connected with real merits; therefore, it is stable enough to offer some solid basis for organising things. For it is achieved by virtue and leads to success.

And that is how *eunoia*, in Isocrates, becomes a sort of intermediate notion, joining together ideas which had long been opposed to one another—I mean justice and advantage.

Sometimes, when taken in connexion with its causes, *eunoia* is presented as an honourable aim in itself; sometimes, when taken in connexion with its consequences, it is shown as something useful. And it even enables him to establish a relation between both ideas.

For just as his theory about *doxa* allows him to combine the study of rhetoric with the love of truth (and makes him equally adverse to Plato and to the sophists), just so the theory of *eunoia* which arises in his confident and trusting mind comes to the happy end that justice and success meet together. Hence the well-known references to the rewards of justice. For, in this well-ordered world, which looks as distinctly parted into two halves as a sentence of his—*μὲν* here, *δέ* there—it seems one finds all evil and misfortune on one side, all virtue and happiness on the other. The result being that some people blame him for being too much of an idealist in politics, others for considering nothing but practical advantage when speaking about morals.

Of course, it should be added that this system of his is not always quite so precise. And the idea of *eunoia*, as others in Isocrates, remains somewhat loose. I should think he likes them to be so, for that is how he has experienced human things to be. When he speaks about the *eunoia* of the assembly, naturally to seek it may come very near to the wretched habit of flattery, reproachfully called *χαρίζεσθαι*. And yet he advises Timotheos to seek it: 'For if you please the people in Athens, no matter what you do they will not judge your conduct by the facts, but will construe it in a light favourable to you; and, if you make mistakes, they will overlook them, while, if you succeed, they will exalt your success to the high heaven. For good will has this effect upon all men. But you, while seeking by every means in your power to win for Athens the good will of the rest of the Hellenes, because you recognise its great advantages, nevertheless do not consider that there is any need to secure for yourself the good will of Athens' (*Antidosis*, 134-5). And when it comes to be the *eunoia* of a single person, as in the *Nicoles*, it is even more difficult to admit of its legitimacy; and yet one must seek it (58).

But there is one case which seems to fit the system perfectly and where no difficulty seems to arise: that is the case of *eunoia* in the relations between cities. There, as it is not so easy to use flattery or illusion, and as the only merit is to respect the other's rights, it seems

natural enough that one should have good will to those who do. Also, as there does not exist any law, but everybody always depends on the actual balance of power, the influence of eunoia can be felt as greater; and history shows it, too, more conspicuously. And so we should not be surprised to see that this profound connexion between justice and advantage has nowhere been so fully developed and thought out as in the beginning of the essay *On the Peace*—an essay, and a passage, that deal with politics and with foreign politics. Just before this famous analysis comes a mention of the rise and fall of the first Athenian confederation; just after comes a practical conclusion about the policy Athens should follow: the experience Isocrates appeals to in the passage itself is undoubtedly political experience—which indeed makes the utility of eunoia particularly clear.

Whether one considers Athens or Sparta, the rise and fall of a hegemony can always be explained by the fact that the leading city either respected justice or ignored it. For the rise is explained by the fact that cities spontaneously accept the other's direction; and Isocrates, remembering the formula Thucydides had used about the beginning of Athens' hegemony (i. 96. 1: ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων, cf. i. 75.2) repeats it in two different passages, which, although different in context, both point to good will as being the main cause (*Peace*, 29–30; *Areop.*, 17). On the other hand, the fall is explained by the fact that this good will is soon replaced by hatred, μῶσος. As he says, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας εἰς τοσοῦτον μῶσος κατέστημεν . . . (*Peace*, 28). The same word recurs for the downfall of Athens in § 82 (μωσθῆεν), for the downfall of Sparta in § 100 (ἐμωσθήσαν), then again for Athens in § 105 (μωσθέντες), while in the same paragraph he says of Sparta, for the sake of variety, that 'all the rest wanted to destroy her'.

So, in that case at least, the system is thorough and methodical: it rests on a sort of demonstration. This demonstration is only made clearer by mentioning, too, the eunoia or good will from the Gods: we find it mentioned twice in Isocrates (*Arch.*, 59; *Peace*, 33) and once in Demosthenes (ii. 22). But I think that should only be regarded as an additional proof: in fact, Isocrates has too much faith in man to need much the help of Providence. And his belief in man's eunoia furnishes a complete demonstration even without it.

That such a demonstration exists is important. I think it would be only fair to Isocrates to remember it, whenever he utters those rather simple statements about the final victory of right or the final reverse which awaits domineering cities (as in the *Archidamus*, 36, or the *Plataicus*, 25): for the explanation is not given, but it exists, and is a very natural one. And it would be fair, too, not to criticise his policy as losing sight of practical advantages for, even if he does not say so, they are to be understood as going together with moral prestige.

The result of moral prestige is, indeed, prosperity. Let us quote *On the Peace*, 140: 'What a turn for the better should you expect the affairs of our city to take when we enjoy such good will from the rest of the Hellenes?'

Of course, this result might sound a little pedestrian and middle-class, if I may say so. Isocrates speaks, in the next sentence, of wealth and good reputation: those are the new form of power and glory. But then they might also have more stability and poise than the former ideal. Anyhow they take its place and, although reached by opposite means, they are meant to be equivalent.

This could be illustrated by considering the way Isocrates uses the word προσάγεσθαι in reference to foreign politics. When Thucydides used it with the same reference, he nearly always meant that you came with an army, and, inspiring fear, obliged people to join you. In Isocrates, one wins the cities to one's self by treating them well (τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ), and that is the real way of acquiring power. In the *Plataicus* (40), the Lacedaemonians won them that way; and Athens should do the same: otherwise, 'What reason will you give if war break out again, to justify your demand that the Greeks should join you?' (προσάγεσθαι). What people in Thucydides wanted to do by the use of force, Isocrates wants to do by the use of good will. It is the same verb, with two opposite means of fulfilling the action.

Was his a better method? Was it even a possible one? He himself had evolved his theory by contemplating the failure of former policies: why not do the same with his and see—not exactly how it worked, for it did not—but how he thought he could work it out in reality, and how he struggled and fought for it. Indeed, as he never wrote about theory without referring to actual politics and real problems, that could also throw some more light on what he really intended when he presented such a theory.

III

Propaganda in Isocrates is centred on two ideas, which are, at first, a little difficult to disentangle, I mean *eunoia* and *homonoia*, good will and concord.

Concord, of course, is his one great idea. He celebrates its virtues in nearly all of his works, either thinking of concord within the city or of concord between cities, this being, naturally, the most important thing. Concord among Greeks, united against barbarians, is the well-known theme of the *Panegyricus*; but the idea, and the word, also recur in the *Antidosis* (77), in the treatise *To Philip* (16; 31; 40; 83; 141) and in the *Panathenaicus* (42; 77; 131; 167, not to mention the passages where the idea is stated with different words).

In a way, concord is a kind of mutual good will. The *Panegyricus* shows it, using both ideas together (174): 'We shall enjoy a spirit of concord, and the good will which we shall feel towards each other will be genuine': *δμονοήσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔξομεν*. But that also gives us a clue to the difference. When one speaks of concord, one considers any group of people as a whole, whereas good will is generally directed towards one special person or city. When mentioning concord, Isocrates thinks of the action that is to be undertaken by all Greeks together; when speaking about good will, he thinks of the leader: he is addressing him, trying to keep him along the right path, trying to keep him away from imperialism. As a matter of fact, he deals with good will in two periods, first when he addresses imprudent Athens, next when he addresses dangerous Philip.

First, Athens. In the *Panegyricus*, he had undoubtedly drawn a picture of what should be the policy of the leading city, which was to be Athens; but he did not make great use of the idea of *eunoia*,⁸ for he was more interested in recommending Athens' merits than preventing her mistakes.

But the difficulties the second confederation met with are well known to everybody. Words about *eunoia* would then seem not to be useless. We find some of them in the *Plataicus*. Yet, that is no good: although Isocrates backs Timotheos (who, he writes in *Antidosis*, 122, secured good will for Athens), things get worse and end in the Social War: confronted by that failure, Isocrates turns to Athens, reproaching her for it: that is the discourse *On the Peace*.

Nowhere has he insisted so much on the idea of *eunoia*. And this explains how the purpose of the discourse is summed up in such startling abstractions as, at the beginning, 'but no such thing can come to pass until you are persuaded that tranquillity is more advantageous and more profitable than meddlesomeness, justice than injustice. . . .' The whole discourse seems to have no other aim than pondering over that idea, illustrating it by means of past experience, and teaching Athens that she should avoid the vices of tyranny if she wants to avoid its fate.

I do not feel one could criticise Isocrates for having changed anything of his former opinions—as does W. Jaeger.⁹ Isocrates had written in favour of Athens' hegemony and now writes to oppose Athens' tyranny: that is coherent. No man was ever more coherent and obstinate than Isocrates. But what could perhaps be doubted is whether these reproaches against Athens were not a little obsolete.

⁸ Apart from 174, where *eunoia* and *homonoia* combine, the word *eunoia* appears in 142, and that is all.

⁹ Cf. *Paideia*, iii, 128-9 (English edition).

The Second Confederation was no doubt far from being perfect; but the attacks on Athens were perhaps less due to her tyranny or imperialism than to her weakness; and it does not seem that Isocrates really grasped the importance of the hostilities Athens had to deal with outside the confederation.

Anyhow, he did not grasp it in the case of the newly-arising difficulties with Philip, when he wrote, in the beginning of his treatise: 'For do not think that Cersobleptes will wage war with us over the Chersonese or Philip over Amphipolis, when they see that we do not covet any of the possessions of other people. . . .' (22). Poor Isocrates! Perhaps he had pondered too much about past experiences? However, ten years later, he could not be mistaken any more; and, having had to turn to another leader, he also had to present him with the eunoia-argument: and we find him giving similar advice, about the same Amphipolis, only, this time, to Philip. And he wants to persuade him 'that the friendship of our city would be worth more to you than the revenues which you derive from Amphipolis' (*To Philip*, 5). And on it goes with eunoia. Of course, Demosthenes knew better, for in the speech *Against Aristocrates* (xxiii. 111) he mentions as a natural thing the fact that Philip, although it would have been wiser of him to give up Amphipolis and win Athens' friendship, did just the contrary, because of ambition. And whether or not this shows a trace of Isocratic ideas in Demosthenes,¹⁰ it undoubtedly helps us to see the difference between them.

However, the question of Amphipolis is but a detail in a more general advice, which is now given to Philip; and this advice is interesting in itself—the more so as Isocrates does not give it just in the same way as he did to Athens.

The first difference is that he does not seem any longer to be interested in all cities equally: it is Athens' good will he is speaking about. And that means he has not given up the idea of Athens' importance altogether: she still has a special mission in Greece and does not stand on the same level as the others.

And then, another difference: Isocrates does not speak quite as much of the use of good will. Probably Philip's increasing power would have made the idea both unconvincing and unseemly. Isocrates only mentions it in connexion with future enterprises: 'For one must undertake nothing until he finds the Hellenes doing one of two things: either actually supporting the undertaking or according it their entire approval' (86: πολλήν εὐνοίαν; cf. 95). In all other passages of the treatise, he only refers to the beauty of creating eunoia, the nobleness of it, the shame of losing it.

And these features are not there by chance, for, some years later, in Isocrates' letter to Philip (Letter ii), we find them again. First, Athens: he gives ten paragraphs (13–23) to the importance of winning her eunoia: 'For you might then more easily keep in subjection those who are now under your sway, if they should have no refuge, and of the barbarians you could more quickly conquer any you should wish'; and he invites him to grasp eagerly 'at a relationship of good will such that you will hold securely not only your present domination, but also without risk acquire another great one'. Then, discretion: he mentions twice the utility of this good will from Athens, especially for future enterprises; but that is all; otherwise we find nothing but the beauty of eunoia again. And it is rather amusing to see in what subtle and skilful way the very conclusion of the letter converts utility into beauty: 'I know not what more I need to say, except this only—that it will be a fine thing for you (καλὸν ἐστὶ) to entrust your royal power and your existing prosperity into the keeping of the good will of the Hellenic race' (παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίᾳ).

And then? and then Philip went on, and the situation, for Isocrates, became somewhat difficult: the argument about eunoia then recedes, and, in the *Panathenaicus*, Isocrates takes refuge in the less compromising idea of *ὁμόνοια*; indeed he does refer to the great law of eunoia, but in a rather awkward way, trying to excuse Athens for having neglected it and explaining that it was Sparta's fault (116).

¹⁰ Mathieu, *Philippe et Lettres à Philippe, à Alexandre et à Antipatros*, Paris, 1924, p. 31.

Perhaps all that does not mean much. And yet it seems to me that the use Isocrates makes of the argument and of the word brings things out fairly clearly. It enables us to follow a sort of leading thread, showing us the real unity of Isocrates' thought; but it also indicates the way he adjusted it to situations; and among other things it shows with what skill he could stress the importance of Athens even though he accepted Philip's hegemony.¹¹

But it also shows something else, for it shows the failure, and some of its reasons. Denouncing the danger of disregarding good will, Isocrates addresses first Athens, in a time when she was not powerful enough to find in it her worst danger; and he next addressed Philip, in a time when he was too powerful to fear such a danger.

And, after all, even if he had feared it, was it really possible for him to follow Isocrates' advice? Even if experience in the past had shown the danger of disregarding *eunoia*, it did not follow that one could simply seek it and succeed. Here too, Demosthenes knows better. He does insist on the value of *eunoia*; but he believes this *eunoia* is connected with advantage: at least as much as on justice, it rests for him on a community of interests (xiii. 6: τῶ ταῦτά συμφέρον). Perhaps Athens considers justice before all, but that is certainly not what the others do, and least of all Philip (*Phil.* ii. 12); indeed, Philip is the one who must be persuaded (*Chers.* 54 = *Phil.* iv. 55-6); and perhaps Demosthenes feels a slight irritation towards those who forget it.¹² Therefore he does not use the idea of *eunoia* as an aim for his own policy, but only as an argument against Philip's and as a reason for hope. Finding himself on the weak side, and feeling genuine indignation against Philip, he begins to hope in *eunoia*, and starts leaving out some of the Thucydidean realism and lucidity which he affected in his first orations. But doing that, he makes the best of the situation, and does not try to change the basis of contemporary policy.

That ought to dispose of the alleged influence of Isocrates on the second *Olynthiac*, or at least show how vague and general it must have been. The difference is more interesting than the influence. And it enables us to grasp how much more unreasonable Isocrates was—unreasonable, that is to say, also, bold, and original, and desperately obstinate in his wish to make, in spite of everything, the political life of his time sounder, safer, and different.

Of course, he could but fail. But I should not like to finish with such easy criticism. And I should not like, even, to excuse him with the idea that the policy of Demosthenes, although more realistic, was just as obsolete, and failed just as clearly. Poor Isocrates, I think, should get a better *satisfecit*.

What was wrong with his theory was that he confided too much both in the wisdom of the strongest and in the judgment of the weakest. But if we suppose some international institution, giving some reality to the rights of the weakest and to the meaning of their approval, the idea could make more sense. And in some timid and rather hypocritical way, those institutions did begin to take shape, first in the Second Athenian Confederation, and then in the League of Corinth. To be sure, that was not much; but it was a sign of Isocrates' influence.¹³ And the same is true for whoever, in modern times, thinks of similar institution, and tries to find some remedy to the old *φόβος*—not perhaps in *εὐνοία*, but in the more complex notion of safety.

Therefore, we owe something to him. In what concerns rhetoric, Isocrates stands halfway between Plato and the sophists; and that makes him look a little silly; but it is on this intermediate position that, through Cicero, was built our modern literary education (at

¹¹ About the limits of this late panhellenism in Isocrates (whatever it had been before), cf. A. Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone, Saggio sulla Storia greca del IV secolo A.C.*, Firenze, 1934, p. 191-2.

¹² Cf. *Chers.* 27, the irony towards those who pretend to worry about Greek people in Asia. For the realism in his views, cf. also 25, where he mentions

that the sums extorted from the cities were called *εὐνοιαί*.

¹³ For the influence of the idea among writers, cf. M. Mühl, *Die politische Idee des Isokrates und die Geschichtsschreibung*, i, diss. Würzburg, 1917, which shows Ephorus praising Philip and Alexander for having created good will.

least in France). It is the same thing in his attitude towards international relations. He stands halfway between the realistic acuteness of Thucydides and the moral intolerance of Plato's city; and this position, which means trying to endow opinion with some practical value and thereby make the world somehow more sensible—this position is not without upholders now.

Isocrates, it is true, is not very intelligent; but, all the same, it must be said: we all take after him, in some way or other!¹⁴

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¹⁴ The above paper was written for a lecture delivered in London University (May, 1957): I want to thank here both the Professors in this University for having invited me there and the editors of the *JHS* for having accepted it for publica-

tion. I feel particularly grateful to Professor A. W. Gomme who, very generously, spent much of his time making it less incorrect. The quotations of Isocrates in English are borrowed from G. Norlin's translation, in the Loeb Collection.

ALEXANDER'S MARCH FROM MILETUS TO PHRYGIA

'If anything relative to ancient history escapes my notice, it must be pardoned, for this is not the province of the geographer,' (Strabo, xii. 8.5.)

FOREWORD¹

THE march of Alexander from the Granicus to Issus is given by Arrian in less than a dozen pages scattered among various sieges that are more fully described; Plutarch, Diodorus and Quintus Curtius do less, and no more than a page or two apiece has come down to us on the whole of these movements.²

Although his first meeting with Asia was probably the most important experience in Alexander's adult life, and though the Anatolian campaigns lasted a year and a half, or even a little more, out of the short total of eleven years that were left him, the poverty of the sources has imposed its brevity on modern historians also. Professor Tarn—who is as much a bedside book to modern devotees as the *Iliad* was to their hero—describes the marches and countermarches of Asia Minor in little more than three pages;³ and there is a great gap left us from classical times between Xanthus and Phaselis in Lycia. It would be absurd to think of filling it. But after sailing down the coast, I believed that some evidence might be gathered by comparing the written scraps left us with the nature of the places recorded, provided this were done before the road-building policy of modern Turkey succeeds in changing the pace of living in these mountains. Hitherto their ruins have scarcely been altered except by a natural decay; and the methods of travel being as slow as ever they were before, except along a very few roads, the flavour of their past is preserved.

In this essay the geography is attempted, with the problems and such answers to them as my rather intermittent journeys seemed able to provide. Someone better equipped than I am may find the outline useful and venture more profitably, before too much time goes by; for the interest is not one of geography merely. By visualising the routes which were chosen, the motives and processes by which that choice was made become clearer; and behind these motives and processes is the most dynamic being that the world has perhaps ever known.

I overlap a little to the north and south of the actual problem of Lycia and Pamphylia, because the whole year's campaigns in Asia Minor, from the siege of Miletus to Issus and indeed to Tyre, are held together by a single plan. Their interest lies in the unusual strategy of a naval war fought out on land, and they culminated, not in the battle of Issus, but in the destruction of the Persian sea power and the fall of Tyre. Issus was, as it were, an interruption between three main points: the landing in Asia; the establishment of communications and defeat of Persia at sea; and the conquest of the land empire at Gaugamela in Mesopotamia. In this light the whole march, down the Carian coast and after, falls

¹ The following works have been used and are quoted by the names of their authors: Arrian, *Anabasis* (Loeb); Plutarch, *Life of Alexander and Moralia* (Loeb); Strabo, xiii and xiv (Bohn); Q. Curtius, *Alexander* (Loeb); Diodorus Siculus, anon. translation (London, 1700); W. W. Tarn, *Alexander* (Cambridge, 1928) and in *CAH* vi (1927), cc. 12-15; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950); E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus* (1902); W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824); T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia,*

Milyas and Cibyritis (London, 1847); Charles Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* (London, 1852); Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, ix. pt. 2 (Berlin, 1859).

I wish to express my especial thanks to Dr. G. T. Griffith for his kindness in reading this paper, checking references and correcting mistakes, and to Prof. Gomme and Mr. G. Bean too for their help.

² Arrian, i. 17.3 to ii. 7.3; Plutarch, *Alex.* 17-19; Curtius, iii. 1 and 4-7; Diodorus, xvii. 21.7-31.

³ From p. 17 to 24 of his *Alexander*, and in *CAH*.

into position. Its naval aspect is of course well known, and there is no essential problem in Caria, either about the motives or the geography, as there is in Lycia farther on; but here again it seemed to me that there were a few points worth noting, more particularly the connexion of Alexander's early years with the family of Ada and the human relationship by which policy may have been influenced at this point.

A. THE PLAN

In the camp in the outer city of Miletus, while the attack on the inner city was preparing, Arrian records a conversation between Alexander and his father's general Parmenion, in which the naval plan is outlined that led them down the coast (i. 18.4-5). The young conqueror—twenty-two years old—was about to discard from strength, if one may use a term of bridge for something so important. His navy was successful. His one hundred and sixty ships had beaten the four hundred Persians (if Arrian's figure is correct) by three days in a race for the harbour approaches. Nicanor, Parmenion's son, had brought them up and anchored them at Lade, which is now a hummock in the Maeander reaches, but was then one of the estuary islands, notorious for a Greek defeat a century and a half before, and close in to the town.

The conversation has come down to us with still a faint touch of that irritation with which Ptolemy, or the man who kept the journal which he copied, wrote down Parmenion's sayings. These were young soldiers jotting their histories, and Parmenion—the man whom Philip had thought of as 'the only general'—was over sixty, surrounded by many exceptionally capable young generals in the making. He had advised caution on the banks of the Granicus when their first battle in Asia was spread out before them. He had pointed out that it would be better to effect a surprise at dawn across the river, 'whose banks are very high, sometimes like cliffs', and where the enemy, prepared as he was in daylight at that moment, could charge the troops emerging in disorder. And Alexander had replied that he would feel ashamed if a petty stream stopped him after the crossing of the Hellespont; and had led his right to the attack—with white wings on his helmet and his Companions behind him—oblique across the stream (Arrian, i. 13.3-6; Plutarch, 16.3).

But now, while Alexander held back, Parmenion was for risking a naval battle. Defeat, he said, would not be very serious, since the Persian navy was anyway supreme. And an omen had been seen—an eagle perched on shore at the stern of the Macedonian ships.

Alexander would not chance a repulse at sea. It would be lunacy to face the crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own who had not yet completed their training, and with the Greeks 'ready to blaze into revolt' at the first whisper of a naval disaster. As for the omen, he interpreted it differently: the eagle was sitting on land, and it was there that he would beat the Persian navy (Arrian, i. 18.6-19).

So he took Miletus by assault, and his little fleet sailed into the harbour while the fight was on and 'jammed their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance' to keep out the Persian ships. These sailed towards them again and again, hoping to provoke an engagement, but Alexander held himself in, and guarded the harbour; and the enemy, from want of water and stores, was as good as besieged and made off to provision at Samos. He came back, and again drew out his line to entice the Macedonians, and slipped five ships between their camp and island to catch them unawares. But Alexander collected what he could find ready, and sent ten triremes with orders to ram; and the Persians, seeing the unexpected opposition, doubled back while still at a safe distance, and lost only one slow-sailing ship from Iasus. Then they left Miletus, with nothing done. And it was on top of these successes that Alexander determined to disband his navy.

The conversation with Parmenion is completed by Arrian's commentary (20.1-2), which states definitely that the young king was inspired by want of money and by his

unwillingness to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. The navy cost him more than a hundred talents a month, and he could not afford it.⁴ 'As he now had a secure footing in Asia with his land troops he no longer needed ships, and he thought that by capturing the coast bases he would break up the enemy's fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from and, in fact, no seaport in Asia. Thus he interpreted the eagle to mean that he should "conquer the navy from dry land".'

The *safety* of Alexander's genius shows itself in the two oppositions to Parmenion. They are dissimilar to each other, startling to the orthodox, and both successful. Five years spent with Aristotle's accurate curiosity to guide him, gave him perhaps this scientific ability to look without prejudice and judge things on their merits when they came. He was asked as a boy what he would do under certain circumstances, and replied that he could not know until the circumstances arose; and this empirical quality of mind is what we meet over and over again as we travel down the coast. It is one among the slender threads by which to trace his ways.

B. CARIA

He now neglected the example of Cyrus, the route of all the armies before him, and the highroad of Asia; and began his march through the small fertile plains of Caria and the forest ridges that hem them in. At Labranda, in the north of this country, the sanctuary



FIG. 1

of the double-axed Carian Zeus showed by its name its ancient origin, and a subsidiary track crossed its high saddle, from Alabanda in the pastoral Marsyas valley where the extreme western route from Lydia led to the south. The modern road loops and twists in the Marsyas gorges; but the old way avoided that region of ice-polished boulders and kept to the more manageable westerly foothills, through flats that are often flooded, by the temple of Hecate at Lagina—now Leyne. The modern road to Milas (Mylasa) joins it near the village of Eski Hisar. The city of Stratonicea was built here later for Macedonian veterans by Antiochus I, to hold the key of Mylasa and the Halicarnassus peninsula just

⁴ CAH 360. Cf. Plutarch, 17.3.

where the fertile lands rise to shallow wooded hills: but an easy earlier route must have run through these villages at all times, avoiding the climb to the Zeus of Labranda and its winter snow.

There were two other ways by which the Halicarnassus peninsula could be reached from Miletus—the one along the coast, by the ports of Iasus and Bargylia, by-passing Mylasa; and the other by what is now the lake of Bafa, under Heraclea whose stupendous walls were to be built within a generation, along a road where sixteen columns of a late Corinthian temple still stand at Euromus, near the present Selimiye.⁵ The road crosses



FIG. 2

an old Turkish bridge on eleven arches, to reach the neon-lighted avenue of Milas, which is a typical small country town in Turkey, and was numbered in Strabo's day with Stratonicea and Alabanda as one of the three inland cities of Caria. Its temple has gone, built into a mosque between 1740 when Pococke saw it and 1765 when Chandler describes the city; but it still has a gateway with the double axe of Zeus upon it, and a small, late mausoleum. It was the religious centre, and for a short while, even in Alexander's lifetime, had been the actual capital of Caria, under Hecatomnus who founded the native dynasty, and whose son Mausolus moved back to Halicarnassus whence they originally came.

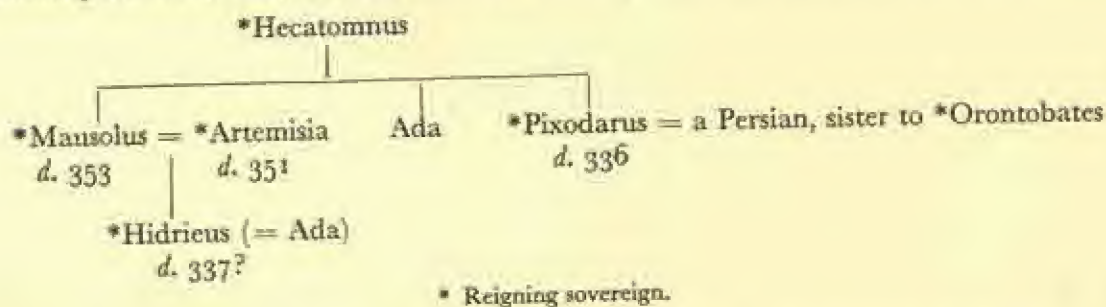
Arrian does not mention these places, though they are probably included in the 'capture on the march of such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus', where Alexander

⁵ Fellows, 276; Magic, 85.

camped and attacked by the Mylasa gate (i. 20.2, 4). His route from Miletus into Caria is probably that of the Marsyas valley and Alabanda, since the coast road is made impossible and that of Lake Bafa unlikely by the fact that he visited Ada, the dispossessed queen of Caria, in Alinda.

This city now includes the village of Demirjideré, on the east side of the Labranda range that cuts it off from Bafa or the sea. It is reached from Alexander's main road south by a tributary valley of the Marsyas, the Karpuz Chay.

Queen Ada headed the anti-Persian side in Caria, and Alexander had corresponded with her family three years before. This is the background to his visit. While his father was still living, he had thought to marry the queen's niece, and had sent a messenger to Caria. Philip had been vexed, and his son's friends, who were now on the march with Alexander—Ptolemy, Harpalus, Nearchus—paid for their share in the plot with exile.⁶ Communications probably had been opened up again, though the family affairs of the Carian dynasty had meanwhile passed through some drastic changes. The great days of Halicarnassus under Mausolus and Artemisia were over by 351 B.C., soon after Alexander's birth, and their son Hidrieus, who had married Ada, had also died, three years or so before the Macedonians came. The brother of both Mausolus and Ada, whose daughter Alexander had proposed to marry, was Pixodarus, and he had ousted his widowed sister, and had also died, two years before Alexander's arrival. The whole of Caria except Alinda had fallen to his brother-in-law, Orontobates, who was a Persian. With this rather complicated panorama of the dynastic background in his mind, and the friendly and flattering foundations already laid from Macedonia, Alexander evidently made for Alinda.



Arrian does not say that he went there; but he describes the coming of Ada to meet him, and the adopting of Alexander as her son, leaving us to fill in as best we can the background of the planned Carian marriage that had entered into the political dreams of a nineteen-year-old boy (23.7-8). This background probably had its influence: Alexander, at any rate, came to the walls of Alinda, and there was a warmth in his welcome that made the queen of Caria adopt him as her son. Nor is this human touch unworthy of historical attention: the envisaged marriage in Caria with a half-Persian, half-barbarian, the adoption by a Carian mother, the affection for Persian Sysigambis, the final unity of mankind—all are steps in the same direction and lead Alexander far away from Aristotle and Isocrates, or even from his own first message after his first victory, when he sent from the Granicus 'the spoils of the barbarians in Asia'.

The suggestion that he stayed in Alinda is given by Plutarch in his *Sayings of Kings*, who tells how Ada, 'out of kindness, sent him every day many curious dishes and sweetmeats, and would have furnished him with some cooks and pastry men', but he told her that he wanted 'nothing but a night-march to prepare for breakfast, and a moderate breakfast to create an appetite for supper'.⁷ Every visitor to the East has had to find some sort of an excuse on some such occasion, and this vignette of life in Alinda bears a stamp of truth.

⁶ Plutarch, 10.1-4.

⁷ *Moralia*, 180a (Alexander, No. 9).

Having deviated from the highroad to reach the fortress, Alexander must have retraced his steps for a short way, forded the tributary, the Karpuz Chay, and found the main road again—marooned now in swamps and neglect—that led by Alabanda and Lagina to Halicarnassus.

C. LYCIA

When he left the Halicarnassus peninsula on his way into Lycia, Alexander cannot have diverged very far from the modern road that unites Fethiye, the ancient Telmessus, with Caria. Arrian indeed says little, except that he went towards Lycia and Pamphylia so that, 'when he had gained possession of the coast, he might render useless the enemy's navy' (i. 21.3)—a confirmation of what had been decided at Miletus; and otherwise no more news is given, except that 'on his route he took in his stride Hyparna, a strong place', as yet unidentified as far as I know.

Other evidence, however, goes to show that he followed more or less the line of the modern road, at any rate from the Ceramic Gulf southward; for the cities of Cnidus and Caunus both remained on his right unmolested, in the hands of the Persian brother-in-law of the late Pixodarus. Their submission was only made certain nearly a year later by his final defeat. Alexander must therefore have gone straight, as one does now, round the eastern end of Lake Köyçeyiz across the Dalaman river, leaving the two western peninsulas and their cities out of sight.

The leaving of these cities illustrates his policy in a negative way. He goes from place to place with friends to introduce him, and this fundamental necessity of travel in a little-known country before maps were frequent was evidently used wherever possible. In Caria he had found Ada. In Myndus, when the promised opening of the gates failed him, he tried the strength of the walls and passed them by. In Lycia he certainly had friends. The house of Halicarnassus was honoured and in authority there; Pixodarus, before he went over to Persia, while Hidrieus and Ada were still reigning, had an inscription dedicated to him by the Lycian cities of Xanthus, Pinara, Tlos, and perhaps Cadyanda.⁶ Alexander's friend, Nearchus the Cretan, seems to have had acquaintance in Telmessus, if there is any foundation for the story in Polyænus of how he captured the place from a local dynast of the time: this man came out to meet him as an old acquaintance when he sailed into the harbour, and asked if he could be of service; and Nearchus told him he would like to leave some captive music-girls and the slaves who attended them; and with swords hidden in their flutes and small shields in their baskets, they were taken up to the fortress which they captured. Nearchus was, in fact, made satrap of Lycia and Pamphylia soon after by Alexander.⁷

Apart from such stray indications, and the help no doubt of others unknown, there was Aristander, the seer from Telmessus. He appears in Plutarch as a friend to Philip and Olympias before Alexander's birth. 'Philip, some time after he was married, dreamt that he sealed up his wife's body with a seal, whose impression, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some of the diviners interpreted this as a warning to Philip to look narrowly to his wife; but Aristander of Telmessus, considering how unusual it was to seal up anything that was empty, assured him the meaning of his dream was that the queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as stout and courageous as a lion' (*Alex.* 2.4-5).

Olympias may well have taken a poor view of the other diviners, and have brought up Alexander, who was devoted to her, to trust the Lycian seer. He was with the young conqueror from the beginning, in all his journeys: at Delphi, when the image of Orpheus sweated and 'discouraged many' and Aristander reassured them; at Halicarnassus when

⁶ Magie, 1375, n. 15; also E. Kalinka, *Über historischen Topographie Lykiens*, Vienna, 1884, p. 39, for copy of inscription.

⁷ Polyænus, *Strat.* v. 35; *CAH* vi. 364.

a swallow foretold the treachery of a Companion; at Tyre and Gaza and the founding of Alexandria; at Gaugamela when the fight began. The short words of the narrative in Plutarch and Arrian are touched with gentleness; it appears only here and there, but it comes through. When the soothsayer foretold the fall of Tyre on the very day on which it unexpectedly happened, and the soldiers laughed, the king 'seeing him in perplexity', ordered that the day should not be counted as the thirtieth but as the twenty-third of the month, to give him time. Plutarch explains (25.2) that Alexander was always anxious to support the credit of the predictions; but one may fairly see more in it than that, and feel how the perplexity of an official trained to conceal it was visible to his friend. And one may also remember the most poignant of all Alexander's moments, when he had killed Cleitus and his generals stood round him in his silence and no one could console him, until Aristander, the friend of his family and his childhood, found the right words, and, 'as if all had come to pass by an unavoidable fatality, he then seemed to moderate his grief'.¹⁰

Such was Aristander, and it is reasonable to assume that he had friends in Lycia, and had talked to the king about them, and no doubt communicated with them before the army reached them. Their arrival was peaceful. They had come where they could expect a welcome; as they travel on towards Pamphylia this characteristic is more and more worth remembering. If the places that held aloof were not indispensable, Alexander avoided them if he could.

The army rested where the River Xanthus winds half round its city acropolis in the beautiful valley; and Pinara and Patara and thirty smaller strongholds submitted (Arrian, 24.1). If we could tell what these strongholds were, we should know a good deal more about the next move, which hinges on where the Lycian frontiers ran.

All the information we get is that, 'in the height of winter, as it now was, Alexander attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called' (Arr. 24.5). The problem of what he actually did attack has been complicated by what Magie describes as the 'uncertainty of what was meant by Milyas'.¹¹ The territory varied, no doubt, at various times; but it must always have included the basin of Lake Kestel, the double valley of the Istanos Chay, and the modern Korkuteli near the site of the ancient Isinda. Strabo stretches it between the pass of Termessus to Sagalassus, now Ağlasun, and the confines of Apameia, now Dinar, in the north (xiii. 4 *ad fin.*). It bordered on the Pisidians in an earlier age, when they had taken over Cibyra, now Horzum, from Lydia (*ibid.*). Pliny puts it south of the modern Isparta (which is not far north of Sagalassus) and then describes it as 'beyond Pamphylia—a tribe of Thracian descent, and their town is Arycanda' (*N.H.* v. 95); while Ptolemy the geographer (v. 3.3-4) makes nonsense of this by giving the cities north of Arycanda, Podalia and Choma, to Lycia. Most interesting is Herodotus (i. 173.2) who tells how Sarpedon brought the Lycians from Crete 'to the land of the Milyae in Asia who were then called Solymi'; and tells how the Lycians 'are called even now Termilae' (vii. 92). The little town of Dirmil north of the Xanthus valley still probably perpetuates this name.¹²

Distracted by such an embarrassment of choice, and after moving north and east a good deal, it dawned upon me that probably the vagueness of the lands of Milyas was just as noticeable in Alexander's day as it is now. 'The Milyan territory, as it is called', was a fairly uncertain jotting in the military journal. I decided to tackle the question from quite a different angle, to forget about the Milyae for a time, and to ask myself *what Alexander was being compelled to do*.

One consideration reduces the scope of this question to a reasonable dimension. It is obvious that a general who renounced the siege of Myndus and omitted to bother about

¹⁰ Plutarch, 52.2.

¹¹ P. 761; cf. Bevan, i. 83 and 93 (quoting Forbiger, *Handb. der alten Geographie*, ii. 323).

¹² Suggested by Spratt, i. 266. (It should be added that in Ptolemy *Aphkartha* is an emendation, though almost certain, of *Apaßterda*.)

the coastal cities as he passed them by, would not devote his time and strength to anything but an important purpose while he knew that every month was strengthening Darius in the east. What motive was sufficiently strong? Not, surely, the mere reduction of



FIG. 3

bandit villagers in the hills to please his Xanthian friends. The only reason that justified delay and a winter campaign in the wildest hills of Anatolia was a threat to communications, to the link-up in this case between the army and Parmenion in Phrygia.

The gravity of such a threat can be gauged by comparing a similar threat later, when the Persians after Issus concentrated on Cappadocia and left Alexander with a bottle-neck behind him; Antigonus, in charge of communications in his rear, had to fight three hard battles, and his reputation and Alexander's trust in him are the measure of the importance attributed to his action at the time.¹² The situation in Lycia was equally critical. With about half his original army (the rest were sent home for the winter or scattered in garrisons)

¹² Tarn, *Alexander*, ii. 177.

he was exposed on a narrow though friendly coast, with Persia not yet out of action in Halicarnassus behind him and increasing in strength in front, with the sea in command of the enemy, and a hostile block of mountains between him and his own line of reinforcements. Plutarch, 17.3-5, says that at this time 'he was a little unsettled in his opinion how to proceed' until an omen appeared near the city of Xanthus; and a little uncertainty surely is a fair description of what must have been his state of mind under the circumstances.

He decided to open up a way to the flat lands of the plateau where communication with Phrygia was easy. If this reconstruction is sound, there was only one direction for him to make for, and that was towards the important north road that came down from whatever then represented the later Laodicea, through Temisionium (Kara Hüyük) to what is now Tefenni, or a little farther south to Cibyra (Horzum), and on by Isinda (Korkuteli) to Pamphylia.

This road was soon to be the chief means of communication between the later province of Asia and the southern coast, though there is, so far as I know, no notice of it in the time of Alexander. Ramsay mentions it as important before 200 B.C., and makes the general statement that 'the system of routes, lying east and west, which had been growing during the previous two or three centuries, remained . . . without essential alteration during the Roman rule'.¹⁴ He brings the road down below Tefenni as far as Horzum where the flat lands offer no obstacle; and there he turns it eastward, by the lake Caralitis, now the Söğüt Gölü, to Isinda and Pamphylia through the Milyan-Pisidian lands. He gives no sign of a track between Cibyra and the Xanthus valley. But one may make a negative inference from the history of a slightly later time—the division after 189 B.C. of these coastlands when Eumenes of Pergamum was given Telmessus,¹⁵ together with portions of Pisidia and Milyas. If there had been no means available to him of reaching it, that port alone would have been useless. Telmessus must already have been the established outlet for the Cibyritic hinterland with some means of communication between them, especially since the final outlet for the south, the port of Attaleia, now Antalya, was not yet built. The existence of a route down the upper Xanthus is confirmed a little later by an attack from Cibyra and Bubon, now Ibejik, on Araxa on the lower Xanthus, which must have come pouring down somewhere along the edge of the Xanthus gorges.¹⁶ The strong defences of Oenoanda, too, look like Pergamene work,¹⁷ and point to a road already well enough established to be worth protecting.

Alexander therefore, I believe, climbed up one of the three passes that circumvent the gorges of Xanthus. They start either at Üzümlü or Örenköy, the ancient cities of Cadyanda and Araxa, and lead by a day's riding through Bubon to Cibyra, and then easily and flatly on to Tefenni; or from Araxa to Dirmil and Cibyra, below the fortress of Oenoanda (Injealilar), by Balbura (Katara).

Since writing the account of this journey I have revisited Lycia and ridden up the middle one of the three passes from Araxa, and down from Ibejik to Üzümlü. The middle pass is out of the question for an army, so steep, fierce, waterless and devious above the Xanthus gulleys far below; but the way to Ibejik is an old track where one can trace the ancient cuttings in the stone here and there. It leads down the Akchay tributary to Örenköy or branches easily to Üzümlü, and was, at the time of my visit, crowded here and there with donkeys carrying loads of figs to the upper levels. The old citadel of Bubon (Ibejik) on its conical hill commanded the northern slopes of the pass right up to its watershed, while Cadyanda and Araxa held the southern valley. Below Ibejik, where a westerly route breaks in at Pirnaz, tombstones and shafts of column lie about, and Ibejik itself has a

¹⁴ *Historical Geography*, 45-6; cf. *Magie*, 241 and 1138.

¹⁵ Strabo, xiv. 3.4, p. 665. Cf. *Magie*, note on p. 762.

¹⁶ *Magie*, p. 1122, quoting G. Bean's inscription.

¹⁷ *Magie*, 522.

rough rock tomb on the Lycian pattern that may show at any rate an early intercourse along the pass. From here to the north there is no obstacle except a gentle rise with ancient pedestals and stones, called Topak Tash. Beyond it lies the enclosed plain of Dirmil. A low ridge on the right leads by a few poor summer clusters to the watershed of the middle pass. A small ancient site must have been here also, for shards of Hellenistic pottery lie on the south slope of this rise. The modern track to Dirmil from the coast comes in at a high and more easterly point, and before reaching it one must cross the ancient route that led from the most easterly of the three passes below Oenoanda through Balbura. This site is now deserted, except for a few summer huts and fields; its two theatres, and market-place heaped with ruins, are close below the modern road, but the acropolis stretches out of sight up a small valley and there, by one of the tall and ugly lion-tombs, the old track to Dirmil can still be seen—used by local peasants for its shortness, in preference to the modern road.

The upper basin of the Xanthus and Cibyra can of course also be reached by tracks that lead out of the lower Xanthus valley over the shoulders of Mount Massicytus (Ak Dagħ); but one must remember that it was midwinter, and that an accent of wonder is perceptible in Arrian when he says that the effort was made 'in the height of winter' at all (I. 24.5; above, p. 108). The passes that run into the upper Xanthus from the east of Ak Dagħ all become snowbound, and not even shepherds living in the highest of the villages use them during the winter months.

The Cadyanda and Araxa passes, on the other hand, are usually possible to the end of December. The villagers told me that the two westerly ones suffer more from rain than snow, and they find the easterly one easier, whose modern road is hard frozen underfoot. It zigzags up from Xanthus bridge at Kemer to the pass of Kara Bel, below the ruins of Oenoanda on a spur; and the old way from Araxa joins it just south of the gorges.

This pass gives a choice of two routes—the one west of north to Cibyra and the other east of north to the Caralitis lake: both equally lead to the ancient Laodicea-Pamphylia road, but the second has the advantage of avoiding the watershed between Xanthus and Indus; being very open and easy, it makes one obstacle the less in winter. This is a detail, and does not affect the general direction of Alexander's campaign. What is impossible to determine, except by excavation and archaeology, is the distance of his penetration into the hill-country.

Somewhere, in the middle of winter, to the north of the three head-valleys of Xanthus, the envoys from Phaselis came up to him, to present their golden crown. The meeting-place cannot have been far north of the boundaries of Lycia at that time, since the Tefenni road which would solve Alexander's problem was only a short distance away. One may surmise that while the feet of the passes, at Araxa and Cadyanda, were in the hands of Lycian friends, the northern outlets may still have belonged to the hillmen. When Oenoanda, Bubon and Balbura were included in the Lycian League in 84 B.C., the word Lycia was not added to their coins as it was to those of Telmessus, and this difference may suggest a different origin.¹⁸ The excavation of these little cities could settle the question, by the presence or absence, and the character, of any fourth- or fifth-century B.C. objects found there.

Fourth-century or earlier Lycian inscriptions, on the other hand, have been found at Isinda, to the east: and Lycian tombs are noticed by Spratt on the shore of Caralitis;¹⁹ but they appear to be solitary finds, and it seems to me that one might expect such traces along a used highway where traders would mix with, or influence, the hillmen without actually owning the districts. There are hints of such influence as early as Herodotus, who

¹⁸ A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), 105.

¹⁹ Spratt, 252; cf. Magic, 1374; Mr. G. Bean is publishing a paper in *BSA* which I have not yet

been able to see. He points out that the so-called 'Lycian' tombs, overlapping into Caria and Pisidia, need not necessarily be of Lycian origin.

mentions (vii. 76–77) that the Pisidians each carried two javelins of ‘Lycian work’,²⁰ and describes the Milyans as wearing garments fastened about them with brooches, and casques of hide, and short spears, ‘and sundry of them had Lycian bows’. Alternatively, these inscriptions might represent a stronger period of Lycian expansion now waning under the Carian or Pisidian impact, as we shall presently find it in Lower Lycia when we get there.

A Pisidian push westward is in fact shown later, in the third century B.C., when a colony from Termessus was settled close to Oenoanda and called Termessus-near-Oenoanda. It is obviously the Pisidian city described by Strabo as ‘situated above Cibyra’ (xiii. 4.16)—a description which does not fit the older Termessus. It lies, shuffled into heaps of white stones, where the small pastoral Xanthus stream is caught in shallow cliffs along its upper reaches.

The result, then, of my investigations in this region was, in my own mind: (1) That Alexander was making north by one of the passes from Cadyanda or Araxa, towards either Cibyra or Lake Caralitis, to reach the Laodicea–Isinda–Pamphylia road. (2) That he did not reach it, or he would have linked up with Parmenion and his most urgent problem would have been solved. (A few weeks later he had to send a messenger to Parmenion who went disguised in native dress, i.e. through country still unsafe in enemy hands.) (3) That if he had reached it, his first care would have been to secure the *northern* half of the route, that is the link-up with Parmenion, and that it is therefore not to be thought of that he marched *east* from Xanthus, where the passes towards Elmali and Isinda are over 7,000 feet high and unnecessarily difficult in winter, and where they were leading him away from his goal. (4) That the only reason for imagining his direction to have been east rather than north, towards Isinda rather than Cibyra or Caralitis, is Arrian’s mention of the Milyae and their easterly location by Strabo and others. (5) That there is evidence for their more westerly location at an earlier—and therefore more suitable—date in the passages in Herodotus (vii. 76–77 and 92), with its placing of the Milyae–Lycians–Termilae, and in the etymology of Dirmil in the region where they overlapped just south of Cibyra, where, even in Strabo’s day, the Milyan (Solymi) language was still spoken (xiii. 4.17). (6) And lastly, even if the Milyan direction in Arrian is incorrect, it would be a very easy slip to make in the military record of the time; the same country was soon to be attempted from its eastern approaches, where it was undoubtedly Milyan. The reference itself is given by Arrian in a very indeterminate way. What his statement does suggest is that Alexander had not yet got very near to his objective, and that it was therefore still shrouded in that absence of concrete nomenclature which every eastern traveller deplores.

D. LOWER LYCIA

Like love in Shelley’s poem, the weaker the evidence the heavier is the load it has to carry. Inferences must be used that the better documented are rich enough to dispense with, until—as a tight-rope walker burdens himself with one object after another, until only his straight, perpendicular balance saves him from falling—so the whole proof rests on the integrity of one thin lifeline of historical imagination. The reasoning has to be honest at the start, or it will not bear the load it has to carry.

The whole of Alexander’s journey from Xanthus to Phaselis suffers from this sketchy documentation, and there is a fair case, I think, for allowing some imaginative insight in dealings with the military journal which Ptolemy copied, on which the main part of Arrian’s news is based. We see it in a third incarnation, and must remember the stages through which it passed. The first was a straightforward note of events, with no possibility for much selection, at the end of every day. The second, Ptolemy’s compilation, was done

²⁰ ‘Pisidian’ is Stein’s conjecture, to fill an obvious lacuna; and *Δυκιοεργέα* is an old conjecture found in Athenaeus, v. 486. (Both are accepted by Powell in his translation.)

at leisure later and it is the *choice* of important events made by a very acute mind that was present and therefore knew all about them. It is as good evidence as one can have, and it is fair to assume that in it—unlike the journal from which he copied—every item was meant to tell us something that he himself wished to remember or that we are intended to know. The third version—Arrian's—is a blurring of this definite picture, made by an honest and intelligent man who was not a Macedonian, and was hampered by the fact that he was transcribing, nearly five hundred years after it had happened, something of which he had no direct knowledge. The background, in fact, is missing: it is this background, the thing that Arrian could not know but that was clear to Ptolemy when he wrote, that, if we could recapture it, would give us all the information we are seeking. To put oneself behind Arrian, into the mind of Ptolemy as he writes, is not, of course, to produce evidence; but it may, here and there, and with the help of the present geography, enable us to find a richer meaning in the text, beyond what Arrian himself, as he copied, was aware of.

One may, for instance, notice the embassies that reached Alexander. There must have been a great many, and they were probably all written down in the Journal as they came. Ptolemy, with his subsequent knowledge, would select only those that mattered; and an embassy in Arrian should therefore be carefully watched, as the prelude to some sort of event. Only three are recorded in Lycia and Pamphylia—from Phaselis, Aspendus, and Selge. The second was an introduction to a military operation, and the first and third led to an actual change of plan. They bring out the quality already proved at Myndus, Alexander's safe and flexible readiness to change his mind. When the envoys from Phaselis reached him in the lands beyond Xanthus (Arrian, i. 24.5), he altered his whole campaign and followed them into Lower Lycia, because the alternative they offered was better.

Four main routes from Xanthus to Phaselis must be considered, with various subsidiary deviations. The most southerly, that can now be followed by jeep when the bridges are not washed away, ran, with a branch to Patara, along the highlands of the coast. Not many miles north of this, a way over the lower shoulders of Massicytus went by Candyba—now Gendevar—either through the present Kassaba and the Demre gorge to meet the coast road at Myra, or by a higher route into the Arycanda (Bashgöz Chay) valley through Arneae—now Ernes. A more northerly—a double route at first—passed high both south of the Massicytus summit and north of it not far from Oenoanda, and made across elevated summer uplands for the south-west corner of the Elmali plain, which it would skirt by Armutlu—whose village still has a Lycian tomb reported—and by Podalia on the edge of the lake, where ruins have been found; from here too the road went down the Arycanda.²¹ A still more northerly pass, from Oenoanda to Elmali, is that of the modern road, which is closed in winter and is the death of a car at any season: it could only have been used for the traffic of the uplands north of the Xanthus gorges, and indeed would not be worth counting at all except that Pliny, v. 95 (above, p. 108), mentions Choma—possibly the modern village of Eski Hisar at the eastern outlet of the pass—as part of Lycia. The citizens of Termessus must have passed along some portion of this route within a few decades, to found their colony near Oenoanda, at which time it must have been in the Pisidian rather than in the Lycian sphere of influence.

The two most northerly of these four routes are frozen in winter, and Spratt found snow as late as May on the Elmali pass. Alexander in any case would not be following them in the direction of Elmali at all if, as I suggest, he was making north towards Cibyra rather than east towards Pamphylia. The envoys from Phaselis presumably found him north of the Xanthus passes. They came with most of the maritime cities of Lower Lycia, 'to offer friendly relations and to crown him with a gold crown', and Alexander bade them all hand over their cities to his deputies, which they did. He himself marched to Phaselis soon

²¹ Magie, 519.

after. There seems no reason at all to think that he turned east towards the snow-covered routes of the plateau to do this, when he had two clear and friendly ways in the south to choose from. The envoys of Lower Lycia would evidently lead him, and would do so along the most convenient road, above the little harbours with their important shipping trade in timber, for the possession of which he had risked his army in these hills. He marched back, I think, to his base at Xanthus, and, setting out from there in good order, took either the Candyba road or the present main route above the coast. Fellows, 349 ff., and other travellers (see Spratt, i. 139-43) have described it, and given it an air of desolation; but one must remember that all this coastal strip was particularly open to the later raids of Arab pirates; the Byzantine cities moved bodily into safer country inland, as one can see by the ruins of the great domed church of Kassaba, near Demre: the uncultivated earth, with olives and fruit trees destroyed, grew barren and full of stones; and it is only now, with a helpful government in power, that the little plots of tillage are once again expanding, and vines begin to be planted between the limestone ridges. I made my way from Kassaba, where the decay described by Spratt and Forbes is now being replaced by new building; and drove, or rode, from the ruins of Phellus, by the walls and lion-tombs and theatre of Cyaneae, to Gölbaşı whose sculptures are in the Vienna museum, and down by the new road to Myra (Demre). The ancient track branches off in sight, towards a Hellenistic fortress and Andriace on the coast.

At Myra the long ridge of Alaja Daglı, that divides upper Lycia from lower, dips steeply to the sea and a zigzagging path climbs it for three and a half hours on end. I saw no ancient trace here except a double Hellenistic tower to guard the valley opening below; and as we struggled up I began to wonder if this could indeed ever have been a much-used route. I found, however, that Fellows, and Spratt and Forbes after him (and not many other travellers have been here), give an exaggerated account of the time and trouble required. Their nine, or eleven, hours are reckoned at five and a half by the people who ride up and down from Myra to Finike, and five and a half was exactly the time I took without counting a rest at the top. A little ruined town²² clusters on the spur, with a stupendous view of coasts and islands. Its tombs are broken, its columns half buried round rooms and doorways cut solid in the rock. There are walls of a small acropolis and—so it seemed to me—a worked stone that might be the seat of a theatre. They lie huddled among the goats that climb up to browse and rest there.

Alexander had no doubt been told about the hillsides of Lycia before he divided his army to half its strength and set out from Halicarnassus. He had no more than fourteen or fifteen thousand men; and they must either have climbed up by the zigzag path to the little unknown town as we did, or circumvented the whole of the Alaja Daglı massif and come down the Arycanda valley, for there is no other way. In both cases they would end, as Plutarch implies that they did (17.3), at Phoenice—the modern Finike.²³

From here, across the Chelidonian peninsula, the track to Phaselis is easily traced, the more so since the new Turkish roads have not yet reached these beautiful and lonely hills. One can easily find a pony that deals with the stony paths, and ride to one or other of the small and ruined Hellenised-barbarian centres that lie scattered up and down the open

²² Issus, according to Fellows, 363.

²³ This place-name, Φοινίκη, is correctly translated by Langhorne, but the Everyman edition (which is taken from Dryden) gives 'Phoenicia', which is impossible; so does the Loeb translation, with the order 'Cilicia and Phoenicia'. Plutarch's 'as far as Phoenice and Cilicia' is a natural way, I think, of describing a route which went *via* Finike to Sidé on the Cilician border (below, p. 118-19); the Phoenician coast was far away and the capture of Tyre a year

ahead with Issus in between. Prof. Gomme, however, suggests that there is some doubt whether Phoenice, i.e. the town on the site of Finike, or Phoenicia was intended by Plutarch (or his authority). Alexander's march led him from Phoenice—little known in his day—to the borders of Cilicia; but this detail might easily have been overlooked in Plutarch's time and the well-known Phoenicia be taken for granted. [Plutarch's words are *ἡπείχετο τῆς παραλίου ἀνακαθίστασθαι μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας*.]

basin of the Alağır Chay, where the highway ran into Pamphylia. The Tahtali range separated this valley route from Phaselis and the eastern coast; and I think there is no doubt that Alexander crossed by what is still the easiest and quickest way—by Limyra at the opening between Alağır and Finike; under Rhodiapolis (Eski Hisar) on the top of its hill on the left; through Corydalla (Hajjivella), and its modern substitute Kumluja; and over the Yazır Pass, where the Tahtali peaks first break to long and easy ridges. Descending on the eastern side, one reaches a flat bowl where valley-tracks come in from the bay of Ardachan in the south, and Olympus (Jirali) in the east; while the Phaselis track turns northward between Tahtali and the coastal hills, along the ravines of the Ulubunar Chay. It is not more than a long day's ride from Corydalla, and must always have been the main way from Phoenice, although the longer southerly route is just as easy, through Gagae (Yenije-Köy) and Ardachan. There are also higher tracks across Tahtali, branching from the main route to Pamphylia along the Alağır Chay. But none of these would be chosen by anyone marching from Phoenice and the western coast.

One of these ways, crossing from Gōdene, was suggested by Spratt; but this is out of the question, for the army, when it moved on from Phaselis, took a short cut to avoid 'the difficult and long way round' (Arrian, i. 26.1); and no route can be so described except the Yazır Pass, which would have added two good days to the marching. The pass from Gōdene is quite close to the Mount Climax route which the army was soon to follow, and one cannot imagine anyone having a way laboriously made by the Thracians *up* a difficult gorge, when the army could take a practicable parallel route no distance away, by which it had just come *down*. Spratt was writing on the supposition that Alexander came into this country from Elmali and the Arycanda valley: I have been over the only pass he could have taken north of Limyra, and it is not only very difficult in itself, but is also completely overlooked by the cliffs which we know to have been in Pisidian hands.²⁴

E. CLIMAX AND PAMPHYLIA

Alexander therefore came to Phaselis and rested with his army, which then passed up the Climax gorge (Arrian, i. 26.1). This looks, from the sea at Kemer, like three horizontal bands graded into the recesses of the hills: ledges of black pine trees mark its steep stages; and the steps which the Thracians cut are still visible to the eye of faith in the narrow passage, since no alternative route can ever have been used between the Kemer Chay and its rough boulders and the high and narrow walls of stone above. The limestone there is worn smooth by many centuries of passing feet, though few people now go up and down except the nomads to their summer pastures. The Kemer Chay tumbles through solitudes from Tahtali's northern shoulder, but the track soon leaves it and climbs for three hours or so under woods, near Kediyaalma, a small hamlet round a castle, and over the pass to the track from Phoenice to Pamphylia. This lies, planned as it were by nature, along the broad and easy Alağır, over a low watershed, and down the Chandir Chay, and opens out eventually in the Pamphylian plain. It is a natural highway, and must have contained Arrian's 'strong outpost, built to threaten this district by the Pisidians, from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground' (i. 24.6).

Only three modern travellers, as far as I know, have left notes on this route, and of them Schönborn and Daniell suppose the rock and acropolis of Sarayjik to be the site of this ancient fort, while Forbes²⁵ places it at Chandir, well down the eastern slope of the watershed, where a medieval stronghold now bars the defile of the valley.

²⁴ A. Schönborn's work, *Der Zug Alexanders durch Lykien*, published in 1949 in Posen, I have not been able to see. But the account of his travels in C. Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, ix, part ii. 560 ff., shows

that he also, though with misgiving, brought the Macedonians down from Elmali and Arycanda.

²⁵ See Spratt, ii. 11-12 for Daniell's view; and *ibid.*, i. 203-7. For Schönborn see previous note.

I was prevented by weather from even seeing Sarayjik and its ruins, though I rode over the pass above it and must have been very near; and I looked down on the castle of Chandir too (Chitdibikoyu in the latest map), without actually examining it, since the modern path keeps high above the Chandir gorge. If forced to choose between these two situations for the stronghold, I should prefer Chandir, although Sarayjik is nearer Phaselis and therefore more likely to have lands tilled by the peasants of that city. But one must consider how the Pisidians—obviously rather precariously lodged in an unfriendly neighbourhood—came and went in relation to their friends on the plateau behind them. To reach Sarayjik they would have to cross the wide broken country and the Alagir river itself; whereas at Chandir they would find themselves on the trade route to Pamphylia with an escape open to the plateau close behind them. It looks as if the normal trade of the two rich provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia had been held up by a robber nest of Pisidian mountaineers descending where the valley narrows at the defile. This would, incidentally, explain the readiness with which the people of Phaselis and the maritime Lycians whose road was cut sent envoys to invite Alexander. 'You want the road to Phrygia', they would tell him. 'It is easier for you to attack it from its eastern end which is free of snow, and from there, once through the Termessus defiles, you will meet with no obstacle.' And then they either added or did not add that a friendly army to eliminate Termessus near their main highroad would be extremely helpful to themselves.

If we agree that what Ptolemy wrote is no haphazard narrative but a selection of events that had their importance in his mind, we may infer that the capture of a small stronghold would scarce be worth putting down unless it had had some bearing, some remembered influence on the decisions of that time. The fuller details, such as we have, are given by Diodorus, xvii. 28.1-5 (which I give in the anonymous translation of 1700, the only one available to me. Dr. Griffith says that there are small mistakes in it, but none that affect my argument):

'In the utmost border of Lycia, the Marmarensians, who inhabited upon a great Rock, and well fortified, set upon the rear of Alexander's army in their march thither [from Lydia to Cilicia], and slew many of the Macedonians; and carried away a great number of Prisoners and Carriage-horses. At which the king was so enraged, that he resolved to besiege the place [he had to have this road clear, F. S.] and used his utmost endeavour to gain it. . . . The ancient Men therefore . . . advised the Younger to . . . make peace . . .; which when they deny'd . . . the graver Men then advis'd them to kill all the old Men, Women and Children, and that those that were strong and able to defend themselves should break through their Enemies' Camp in the Night, and flee to the next Mountains. The young Men approved of the Council, and thereupon an Edict was made, That everyone should go to his own House, and Eat and Drink plentifully with his Wife, Children and Relations, and then expect the execution of the Decree. But some of the young Men who were more considerate than the rest (who were about six hundred in the whole), judg'd it more advisable to forbear killing their own Kindred . . . but rather set the Houses on fire, and then to sally out at the Gates, and make to the Mountains for their Security . . . So every Man's house became his Sepulchre. And the young Men themselves broke through the midst of their Enemies, and fled to the Hills near at hand.'

Some place quite close to the mountains must be chosen, and Chandir seems the more probable in spite of its distance from Phaselis: and as Phaselis was the last city of any importance against the Pamphylian border,²⁶ her lands may well have extended across

²⁶ Strabo, xiv. 4.1 mentions a Thebe and a Lyrnessus between Phaselis and Attaleia, but apparently in Pamphylia. Their sites have not yet been discovered.

the ridges of Climax until they met the boundaries of Olbia on the northern plain. The Chandir gorge is not more than one long day's ride from the city.

Wherever the Pisidian stronghold may have stood, it must have been on the Pamphylian highway. Apart from the geography, Arrian's account makes it evident that this was a recent and harassing infliction on the peaceful peasants—the seizure of a place already fortified, rather than the building of a new one—and such would naturally not be found far off the road. Its capture established the Pisidians right across the traffic between Lycia and Pamphylia. What their presence down here also proves is the fact that the plateau was theirs behind them—the high barrier, sheer as a wall, of Ak Dagħ and Beydagħ, with its commanded plains of Isinda (Korkuteli) and Elmali.

The Pisidians must also have held the headwaters of the Alağır Chay, and at least the upper part of the gorge that leads to it from Arycanda, with the little cities, Acalissus (Jaouristan) and Idebessus (Kozagağach), that cling to its northern wall. Apart from their Pisidian names, the situation of these places would be impossible with enemies able to raid or throw stones upon them from above. Elmali lies at their back, less than twenty-five miles away as the crow flies, but high on the plateau shelf that stretches behind Lycia and Pamphylia. It might possibly still have been in Lycian hands; we have seen that there are tombs in this plain, and the Lycian frontiers might have run across it. But against this is the fact that, when Alexander had to send a messenger from Phaselis to Parmenion, he sent him in disguise (possibly by a direct route from Pamphylia, since the guides were from Perge).²⁷ If Elmali had been Lycian and friendly, he could have sent him openly: Alexander, in fact, would have been on the Cibyra road by Lake Caralitis and entering Pamphylia from the west. The answer is that he never reached Elmali at all, or Isinda either. Surrounded by their deep ravines, their stupendous cliffs and snowbound passes, they hung like the core of a gigantic fortress above him in the north; and the defeating of the mountaineers on the Chandir road was a necessary operation in its circumvention, in which the people of Phaselis, and no doubt the coastal cities also, had every inducement to join. Alexander himself at that time was a man in a hurry, and he would not have lingered to take solitary outposts, unless they had been direct knots of interference on his road.

One other point can be made before we leave the Pisidian stronghold to its obscurity. It is an indirect witness that the Chandir road was indeed the route of the army. It is fairly obviously so, but there might be a particle of doubt from the fact that another road does exist across the eastern foothills of Mount Climax to Pamphylia. I have not been along it, but have made inquiries and have looked carefully at it from the sea; and the ancient blocks are visible where it once dipped down to or climbed up from the beaches. Alexander himself led his immediate followers along the coast, where the south wind, when it blows, makes a passage round two promontories impossible; but the wind veered, and Alexander with his escort got by, though the sea came to their waists.²⁸ The exploit was not one of his greater ventures, and he himself, in his letters, 'mentions nothing unusual', for he could have kept to this higher road with the mere addition of a morning's ride. It is, in fact, obvious that the people of a city like Phaselis would have some means of getting to Pamphylia and vice versa when the south wind blew. For a time I wondered if this small detour might not have been the route of the army, in spite of the description of the Climax Ladders, so distinctive in the landscape even now. But the presence of a Pisidian fort would have been impossible on the eastern sea-coast, detached by a whole mountain range from its own allies. I was greatly relieved to find that Mount Climax, already so sadly diminished by the existence of this road at all, had still been scaled by the Thracian

²⁷ Arrian, i. 25.9.

²⁸ Plutarch, 17.6-8; Arrian, i. 26.1-2; Strabo, xiv. 3.9. (The sentence in the text is a combination of these passages; for the three give different versions,

the picturesque detail coming from Plutarch and Strabo. Arrian's account as usual is the most sober. It was obviously a small incident which, because of its colourful setting, lent itself to later embroidery.)

cutters of steps in its steeper recesses. As for Alexander's short cut, it is no longer feasible except by two hundred yards or so of swimming at the more southerly cliff. Boulders have rolled from the top of the precipice and blocked the nearer water, and this may easily account for an increase of depth in the last two thousand three hundred years.

F. PAMPHYLIA TO PISIDIA

Alexander's movements in Pamphylia are quite straightforward. He marched along the coast, with no mention of the temple-state of Olbia which he passed through, where a few rough tombs still show in the low cliff, close to the northerly corner of the bay. Antalya



FIG. 4

did not yet exist; it was built later by Attalus II—probably as an easier outlet than Telmessus for his connexion with the south coast. Alexander pushed on eastward, leaving Aspendus upstream a few miles on his left after coming to an agreement with its government. He made straight for the important harbour of Side. Having secured this he retraced his steps (he was now much more interested in his communications with Parmenion in the north than with the wild coasts of Cilicia) towards Perge, where the guides to the north had come from and where friendly relations with Phaselis evidently existed. But the trouble with all the eastern Mediterranean, and other places as well, is that friendly relations with one set of human beings involve trouble with another. Perge probably disliked Aspendus which 'was accused of having taken and retained some territory of its neighbours' (Arrian, i. 27.4). No sooner had Alexander's army on its return march passed by their city than the Aspendians renounced all their agreements, and were surprised to see the young king back again and ready to besiege them.

His marches and countermarches in this level plain show the same prudent directness

and naval preoccupation that we have found hitherto in all his movements. Side was an important, semi-barbarian port, and he left it with a guard inside it; but Sillyum, perched on the cliffs of its oval hill, was inland and on no main route that he needed: he passed it by (Arrian, i. 26.5) and returned to camp in the flat land that surrounds Aspendus. There, in the suburbs of little houses near the Eurymedon river, he came to terms with the citizens of the acropolis, continued his march back to the friendly base at Perge, and thence set out 'to break the defiles', which, as Strabo points out (xiv. 3.9), had been the original object of the attack on Milyas.

'He began', says Arrian (27.5), 'his march to Phrygia, which led past Termessus.'²⁹ It did not necessarily lead past Termessus; the ways to the north are easier: but neither the people of Phaselis nor of Perge, both interested in the disarming of Termessus, were likely to tell him so, although the people of Perge at any rate must have been aware of the shorter route towards Burdur. Even if he knew of another way, Alexander still had the route to Cibyra in his mind. He had approached it from Xanthus in the west and was now about to attack the same block of enemy highlands from the east; he could only do this with the intention of making for the Cibyra highway.

The forcing of the pass is described by Arrian in detail (27.5-8):

'The Termessians', he says, 'inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round; the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city as far as the road³⁰ and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Termessians . . . came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander . . . bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Termessians, seeing them bivouacking, would not wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right', and 'he passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city'.

The city is there, more or less as the later Termessians left it, for no one except a nomad or two has lived there since. Its theatre seats look down the steep valley to Antalya and the sea, 3,000 feet below, and the track still leads up to an eastern gate which the forest has swallowed.

A fine wall of the second century B.C. spans the scene of the battle in the narrow valley east of Yenije Bogaz.³¹ There is no mention of a wall in Arrian and this fortification was built later, not by the Termessians but by their enemies, since the towers are all directed against the west. There are ten of them, with eastward-opening doors level with the ground. But though it is disappointing to see this *volte-face* of the defences, there is in fact no doubt that this was the natural position where Alexander fought the battle and was joined next morning by the ambassadors from the Pisidians of Selge. This city, hidden in the mountains behind Aspendus, came to offer friendship and 'he found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Termessus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus' (Arrian, 28.1-2), that is to say that *he swerved away from the long-pursued road to Isinda-Cibyra-Laodicea*, and made in a more direct line for Parmenion and the north.

This is the third of the embassies mentioned on the march from Miletus, and one would like again to look at Ptolemy behind the unconscious pen of Arrian, and guess what was particularly in his mind when he recorded the trustworthiness of the Selgian allies. Did they mention what the people of Phaselis and Perge had been reticent about, and tell him

²⁹ Termessus in the translation, and the MSS. of which may mislead. I am told that 'as far as' is in fact the meaning.

³¹ Heberdey in *RE* v. A (1934), s.v. Termessos, 739; Spratt, i. 233-8.

³⁰ The Loeb translation has 'up to the road',

that he was wasting his time over the defiles of Termessus, when an easier road led more directly to his goal? However this may be, Alexander turned north. The route is not specified. He either took the track which the flocks and country people still use—which Manlius probably followed one hundred and forty years later—emerging on to the plateau by the modern Bademağachi, the ancient Ariassus, and thence to Sagalassus (Ağlasun) across the level ground, or, just as easily, he turned back for a matter of five or six miles from the site of the wall and took the road which remained in use till the modern motor-road was built. It runs north through the ruins of Lagon (Uzunkuyukahvesi) beside a Seljuk han, crosses the modern road, and climbs the steep but short Dösheime Pass, still paved with ancient stones. The two routes join the modern main road above the defiles, and the first obstacle they then meet is the Sagalassus range.

Here the last real battle against the Pisidians was fought, and having won it Alexander went leisurely up, capturing villages, by Lake Ascania (Burdur) to Celaenae, which is now Dinar, and on to Gordium over the treeless plain (Arrian, 28.2-29.3). He linked up with Parmenion and the Macedonian reinforcements, and his movements become easy to follow, along the normal highway of armies, through the Cilician gates. Except for a week in the foothills, probably to secure the Karaman route across Taurus, there are no more side-shows; his communications were open behind him and the forces of Darius were collecting in front. In November 333, about a year after the capture of Miletus, the battle of Issus was fought. But the sea-war, to which the year's campaign had really been devoted, was not yet over; and after his victory Alexander still postponed the match with Darius, and concentrated on the coasts of Phoenicia and the hostile fleet of Tyre.

The speech at Tyre, in Arrian's report, gives the gist of the policy as it had already been outlined a year before at Miletus. 'So long as Persia is supreme at sea', said Alexander, 'I cannot see how we can march with safety to Egypt. Nor is it safe to pursue Darius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force towards Babylon and Darius, should with a large army transfer the war into Greece, where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us; and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear. . . . But with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia could all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. . . . We shall make the expedition to Babylon with security at home . . . with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates' (ii. 17.1-4).

When this was spoken, Persia was still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships (Arrian, ii. 18.2). It was not till late in November 332 that his admirals came to the king in Egypt with the news that the last Persian resistance in the islands was subdued (Arrian, iii. 2.3-7). The cities which he had left on one side on his march through Caria—Myndus, Cnîdus and Caunus—must also have been safely his.

FREYA STARK.

EARLY GREEK SHIPS OF TWO LEVELS¹

(PLATES XIII-XV)

As the point of departure I take that controversial passage in Thucydides i. 13.2—*πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίζαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθεν.*

Now the controversy turns on the type of ship that Ameinocles built. Thucydides uses the general word *ναῦς*, which in Herodotus certainly and, according to Liddell and Scott, in Greek literature generally does seem to be a synonym for *τριήρεις*, and after Thucydides' use of the word *τριήρεις* in the previous sentence it would be natural to take *ναῦς* in the same sense. The Corinthians built the first triremes in Greece and Ameinocles built four of them for the Samians at the end of the eighth century, and there would be at least a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the trireme into Greece. Here the matter would have rested, had not this date conflicted not only with the other literary records, including Thucydides himself, but also with the archaeological evidence, such as it is, which both seem to preclude such an early date.

The marshalling of the literary evidence against the supposition that triremes were built in Greece at the end of the eighth century has been admirably done by Professor Davison in the *Classical Quarterly* of 1947. He rightly comes to the conclusion that triremes could not have been introduced into Greece before the third quarter of the sixth century, and that in the disputed passage Thucydides was using *ναῦς* of ships generally and refraining from specifying the class; but in this case how flat the second part of the sentence sounds—the Corinthians were the first in Greece to use triremes, and Ameinocles the Corinthian built four ships of some sort or other for the Samians—nor does it seem to warrant the luxury of a precise date; and why *four* ships?

From a consideration of the Phaeacian ships Davison (p. 19) comes to the conclusion that the fifty-oared ship was the last word in naval architecture at the end of the eighth century. Rhys Carpenter² reaches the same conclusion on this point, but differs from Davison in that he believes that Thucydides actually meant triremes in the disputed statement, but was wrong; the ships Ameinocles built, Rhys Carpenter maintains, were fifty-oared long-ships, which can be found, he says, on Dipylon vases.

These Geometric vases with ship representations have recently been thoroughly investigated and classified by G. S. Kirk,³ but as my interpretation differs on important points, I shall restate the relevant evidence, beginning with the end of Ripe Geometric, which on Kahane's dating covers the second quarter of the eighth century.⁴ First, under one of the double handles of a fragmentary krater in the Louvre, No. A. 517, is one of the few whole ships of the period (Plate XIII (a)).⁵ Clear are the long pointed ram, the stem with its concave outline and short protrusions representing extensions of timbers from the prow compartment, which is protected by bow-screens and fencing, the oculus, and the curved

¹ The substance of this article was given as a lecture at the Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association, April, 1957. I am much indebted to J. S. Morrison. He introduced me to Greek ships, has helped me always to distinguish the sharp from the blunt, and in particular, after I had come to my conclusions from the archaeological evidence on the samaina, brought to my notice the

confirmation of the passages in Photius and Suidas. I subscribe to his views on the trireme.

² *AJA* lii (1948), 1. His theories on the penetration of the Bosphorus have been refuted by Labaree, *AJA* lxi (1957), 29.

³ *BSA* xliv (1949), 93.

⁴ *AJA* xlv (1940), 464.

⁵ *CVA*, pl. 1 (whence Pl. XIII (a)); Kirk No. 18.

stem-post; in the stern, fencing and a curved stern-post or horn. Amidships there is a complex of horizontals and verticals which it is most difficult to interpret. At least five solutions could be offered. First, that the whole pattern represents a solid hull, which is decorated in this way simply under the influence of the ribs and strakes of which the hull is formed. Secondly, that the upper horizontals (the thick band with the thinner strips on either side) represent a rail supported by the verticals, and the lower horizontals (the thick band at the base and the thin line above it) represent the hull. Thirdly, that the upper horizontals represent a deck supported by the verticals. Fourthly, that it is a two-level ship, the upper bank rowing over the top horizontals, which would represent a wale (the four rowers shown would be members of that bank) and the lower bank rowing through square ports below. The fifth theory is that there is in this representation a combination of the plan with the profile view; the lower horizontals represent the near side of the ship, the profile view, while the upper horizontals represent the far side of the ship, the plan view; the verticals will be the benches and/or the ribs; the possibility that the verticals may be both benches and ribs arises because these latter would be, on an actual ship, in line, as can be seen, for example, from the Gokstad Viking ship (Plate XIII (b)), where the benches act as braces for the ribs. The Viking ship differed from the Greek in at least two respects: the Viking was clinker, the Greek probably carvel built;⁶ and the Viking stem curved upwards from the keel, while on the Greek the keel was extended to form a ram.

In view of the possibility, as suggested in the fifth theory, that Geometric perspective may distort the ship, it seems necessary to examine other subjects which the Geometric artist paints before any more ships are scrutinised. The same krater, Louvre, A.517, will serve. First the horses: immediately striking is the narrow body and the long neck; these suggest that the hull of the ship may be attenuated, and the prow and stern drawn to exaggerated heights. Secondly, the chariots: there is probably a more serious distortion here, for while the rail in front of the charioteer is drawn in more or less correct perspective, the rail which appears to be behind the warrior is considered, e.g. by Miss Lorimer, to be the rail on the side of the car, because a rail, if it had been in this rear position, would have seriously impeded mounting on the move, which was one of the warrior's drills.⁷ The painter set it in this rear position in order to avoid the overlap of rail and warrior. Again, the far-side wheel is placed *alongside* the near-side wheel and the chariot floor adjusted in length accordingly, as if the chariot were a four-wheeler. But even here the painter may not be consistent; if he has room in his frieze, both wheels are shown side by side; if he is pressed for room, simply one wheel is shown, as on the Sydney krater,⁸ where the left-hand car is squeezed for room and has only one wheel shown, but in the right-hand one the greater space allows two to be shown. Sometimes the whole floor of the chariot is shown in plan view as well as in profile. Finally, the prothesis scene; the position of the shroud painted in plan view above the corpse, and the corpse, which was presumably in fact covered by the shroud, tilted on its side, show the liberties which could be taken with perspective. Distortion, then, both wilful and imposed by the limitation of technique, combination of the plan view with the profile, and inconsistency in rendering the same subject are all factors which may be met with in the ships of the period from the Dipylon.

Between the handles of another krater, A.527, as reconstructed in the Louvre by M. Villard, from the same workshop as the former Louvre krater, there are parts of more than one ship (Plate XIII (c)).⁹ Once more there are the horizontals and verticals, but now there is an addition. Resting on the lowest thin horizontal and midway between each vertical is a small hook which must be a thole-pin. There is only one pin between a pair of verticals,

⁶ Hornell, *Mariner's Mirror*, 1948, 238, whence pl. 1, fig. b.

⁷ *Homer and the Monuments*, 320.

⁸ No. 46.41. *Handbook* (1948), fig. 49.

⁹ *CVA*, pl. 2.1-4 and 6, and pl. 3. The fragments, A.534-5, illustrated in pl. 1, fig. c, derive from Giraudon 33862 through Williams, *Greece and Rome*, xviii, pl. 86.2b (right frag.); Kirk Nos. 7b-8.

so that a pair of verticals marks the limit of an oarsman's 'room' to use a rowing term, and each vertical must therefore be in the position of the rower's bench, though the top of the vertical at least will represent the rib, because, as was seen from the Viking ship, the benches were aligned upon the ribs of the ship. There is thus an important clue to the size of the ship. The right-hand edge of the left fragment is very near the stern, as can be seen from the gradual upward curve of the horizontals, and there must have been about twenty 'rooms'. The ship on Louvre, A.517, had fifteen 'rooms', perhaps a triakonter. Now the position of the thole-pins at this level precludes the possibility that the main gunwale is at the top horizontal, and that the hull extends solidly from the lowest horizontal to the topmost. The appearance of the warriors' legs in this position precludes the theory that there is a complete deck covering the ship and represented by the upper horizontals. There does, however, remain the possibility that a partial deck was employed—a single one running amidships joining the stern and the prow compartment, but leaving the area above the rowers' heads free, or two side-decks which leave the centre of the ship free, the theory recently put forward by Kirk. Now if the upper horizontals represent a side-deck, any man standing aboard must, of course, either be standing upon this deck or in the free area amidships; in this latter case his legs at least should be obscured by the hull, but the Geometric painter would avoid the overlap of legs and hull, and prop his figures up on a ground-line; and this is what has happened to the figures of the left-hand fragment, the supporters of the side-deck theory must argue; but how can they explain satisfactorily the left-hand figure of the fragment on the right, who would be suspended, on their theory, between the gunwale and the deck? And he would be in the same position of levitation if the upper horizontals were a central deck. As for the rail theory, it is difficult to imagine the necessity for such a high and elaborate one, and the left-hand figure would still be in mid-air. The interpretation which explains this figure most satisfactorily is that which is most closely related to what is known of the Geometric style, whereby the upper horizontals represent the far side of the ship, the verticals are the benches and ribs, and the lower horizontals, the near side of the ship. The troublesome figure on the left would be standing in the well of the ship. There is, however, a difficulty; if the upper horizontals represent the far side of the ship, where are the thole-pins for the far-side oarsmen? In no representation from this workshop where thole-pins are inserted do they appear anywhere but on lines corresponding to those on Plate XIII (c). It was suggested to me by Professor Webster that perhaps the viewpoint for the far side of the ship was from directly above, in which case its thole-pins would not be represented. The theory of the two-level ship is best examined in the light of other representations, but the position of the left-hand figure tells against this theory as well. It is true that the deck theories, the rail theory, and the two-level theory make what appears to be an unseaworthy ship, because the distance between the gunwale and the top of the superstructure whatever it may be is twice the height of the hull from the keel to the gunwale; but the likelihood of Geometric distortion at this point should not be overlooked.

The krater fragments (Plate XIII (d)), once Louvre, A.531,¹⁰ now in Brussels, show what, at first sight, appears to be a ship with a deck covered by corpses. It is, in fact, no different from the other ships which have been discussed except that the verticals have been omitted; the position and composition of the horizontals are still the same, but it would seem to be a convention that whenever rowers are inserted above the lower group of horizontals, the verticals must be omitted. As they stand, the upper horizontals would appear to be a deck above the heads of the rowers, but apart from the objections to the deck theory raised by the position of the warrior's legs on the last fragment, the omission of the verticals here leaves the apparent deck without support. This omission also weakens for the same reason the rail theory and the two-level theory, for although the two-level ship might well have only one

¹⁰ CVA, Louvre, xi, p. 7, fig. 3; Matz, *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunst*, pl. 13b (whence Pl. XIII (d)); Kirk No. 21.

bank manned with rowers, there must have been some continuity of hull structure between the lower level and the upper. But their omission in no way invalidates the theory that there is a combination of the plan with the profile view, for on this theory the verticals were the benches and/or the ribs; here the oarsmen are sitting on the benches and obscuring the lines; the upper horizontals would represent the far side of the ship, and the corpses which should be in the centre of the ship are perched up on top, just as the corpse was placed on the top of the plan view of the bier—unless, of course, the painter thought these corpses as being beyond the ship altogether. In the same way the oarsmen are perched above the gunwale instead of being covered by the hull.

On another Louvre fragment, A.532¹¹ (Plate XIII (e)), the corpses have been replaced by another set of oarsmen to make now an apparent two-level ship; only apparent, because apart from the lack of visible support, the oars of the rowers painted at the higher level do not extend into the water on the near side of the ship along with the oars of those below, but disappear over the far side. Kirk admits that these must be the far-side oarsmen, but being wedded to a deck theory he has to say that they are seated on a deck; surely if they are the far-side oarsmen, they must be sitting on the far side of the ship.

Finally, on the Louvre fragmentary krater, A.522 (Plate XIII (f)),¹² again from the same workshop as the other fragments, and not earlier, as Kirk would have it, the lower horizontals appear, but not the upper ones. It is not in any sense a different kind of ship, but the handles of the vase (they have actually disappeared, but their outline still remains on the clay) coming down right on top of the ship force the artist to abandon the upper horizontals; in other words, just as lack of room compelled the artist to show only one wheel of a chariot, instead of two side by side, his usual distortion, so here lack of room compels the artist to adopt what we should think was a more usual perspective. The claims of this theory involving a distorted perspective seem to me to be the strongest.¹³

The vases which have been discussed so far all belong to the final phase of the Ripe Geometric period, and they are a fair and comprehensive selection of the so-called Dipylon vases with ship representations, to which Rhys Carpenter referred his readers and among which he promised that the fifty-oared long-ship would be found. There has been no sign of it; the largest has been the possible forty-oared vessel mentioned above (Plate XIII (c)).

The British Museum bowl, 1899, 2-19.1, which belongs to Late Geometric, has given much trouble by reason of the ambiguity both of the type of ship and of the event represented (Plate XIII (g)).¹⁴ As to the event, the popularity which ship-scenes seem to have had for the Boeotians has not been noted; this Attic bowl was found in Thebes, perhaps made specially for a Theban client; from Thebes comes the Protocorinthian Geometric bowl, now in Toronto,¹⁵ and a jug of the same fabric in Berlin;¹⁶ then many of the Boeotian fibulae have ship representations. There are at least two reasons why the ship might have appealed to the Boeotians: first, it was from Aulis in Boeotia that the Greek fleet sailed for Troy; secondly, there may be some link with the Argo, for the Argonauts are persistently called Minyae, and it may be that the later inhabitants of Minyan Orchomenos and other Boeotians prided themselves on their connexion with the story. If the actual event represented is not clear, the type of ship is at first sight certainly obscure. One thing common to all theories must be that the height of the ship has been very much distorted in order that all the body of all the rowers may be seen. The deck theory can be dismissed here, because there is nothing

¹¹ *CVA*, pl. 7.2; Kirk No. 29; Williams, pl. 86.2a (whence Pl. XIII (e)).

¹² *CVA*, pl. 4; Kirk No. 5; Williams, pl. 86.2c (whence Pl. XIII (f)).

¹³ The only other definite example in this workshop of the omission of the upper horizontals (Königsberg A.18) can be explained by the intrusion

of the mast-lowering drill. Pernice, *JM* xvii (1892), 283 ff., has already suggested that the artist was showing the far side of the ship.

¹⁴ Kirk No. 40; Matz, pl. 14 (whence Pl. XIII (g)).

¹⁵ Kirk No. 38; Matz, pl. 18 (whence Pl. XIV (a)).

¹⁶ Kirk No. 37.

at all which even looks like a deck. The choice, therefore, seems to lie between a two-level ship and a single-level ship which shows both the near-side and the far-side oarsmen. In the Ripe Geometric group the omission of the thole-pins for the far-side oarsmen seemed to be the only argument against the distorted perspective theory; their presence here should remove that objection. The other criterion was whether the oars of the apparent upper oarsmen extended to the water on the near side or the far side of the ship: here they do not disappear after they pass the gunwale, as they should do, if they were the far-side oars; but on the other hand they do not come right down into the water on the same side as the apparent lower oars, as they should do, if they were coming from an upper level, but forward they meet the lower oars at an angle, aft in line—a state of affairs which though slightly in favour of two levels cannot be decisive. But there is one fact which may be significant: in the apparent upper level there are nineteen oarsmen; in the lower, twenty. This discrepancy should preclude a single-level ship which shows the near-side and the far-side oarsmen, where there ought to be balance, but should confirm the ship as a two-level one, because there might well be in the latter case more room at one level than the other. This discrepancy with a larger number at the lower level exists in some undoubted two-level ships of the sixth century. One might argue that the artist has simply made a mistake and forgotten a man, or even expected the captain to row, but the same ratio of nineteen above to nineteen plus below occurs on the Toronto bowl (*cf. infra*). But even if some of the evidence seems to point to a two-level ship, I am not convinced, for there appears to be no hull structure which could cover the upper oarsmen, if the lower level is imagined to be, where it should be, behind the hull. I should, therefore, hesitate to be dogmatic one way or the other on the type of this ship.

The Toronto bowl, made in Corinth, shows an innovation (Plate XIV (a); above n. 15). A row of semicircular ports is set along the hull. In the centre of each straight side of the semicircle is a vertical post, which must be a thole-pin. Yet the oarsmen appear not behind the ports, but above the gunwale. It might be argued that the painter not having room to place them behind the ports had perched them up in a position where they could be seen, but close to each oar-handle on the top line is another thole-pin. The two sets of thole-pins must again mean that it is either a two-level ship or a single-level ship in which the thole-pins of both sides of the ship are shown; but this latter solution should now be precluded because quite clearly the oars of the rowers who use the upper thole-pins extend into the water on the near side, so that they must be the oarsmen of an upper bank, and the ship a two-level one, although the oarsmen of the lower bank are not shown. The reason for their omission is clear: had they been inserted, they would have blacked out the ports through which their oars would have protruded; therefore the upper level alone is represented (for another example of the same solution, *cf. infra* the ships on the dinos of Exekias). Nor does the ship look as though the painter has taken liberties with perspective; in fact it is, in appearance, the most seaworthy vessel that has yet appeared, and it was painted in Corinth. Further, there are nineteen oarsmen at the top, and twenty-one ports below—a discrepancy which should confirm the ship as a two-level one. Weinberg attributes this vase to his Linear Geometric, which extends from the third into the last quarter of the eighth century,¹⁷ and it is likely to be earlier than the two Attic Late Geometric fragments, Athens 265 and 266,¹⁸ decorated with ships which also have strong claims to be regarded as two-level vessels.

Both of these Attic fragments show a section of a ship's hull with square ports (Plate XIV (b-c)). On Athens 265 the rowers are clearly arranged not one immediately above the other, but in echelon, the correct formation for two banks, if one judges from undoubted two-level ships of the sixth century. The upper horizontals could hardly be a simple deck, otherwise the knees and part of the legs of the figures on the upper level would have been

¹⁷ *AJA*, 1941, 30, and *Corinth*, vii. 89.

¹⁸ Kirk No. 31, pl. 40.3 (whence Pl. XIV (b)), and No. 32, pl. 40.4 (whence Pl. XIV (c)).

shown; and on Athens 266 the corresponding figures are tucked down well behind the hull. Now as to the question of the side on which the oars of the upper rowers extend into the water—they extend over the far side apparently, and not the near side, as they should do, if these are going to be two-level ships, but then the lower oarsmen as well, at least in two cases, have their oars on the far side, as it were, for the oars of the bottom left and centre rowers on Athens 266 do not run over the area that is decorated with diagonals, and the oar of the bottom left rower on 265 does not protrude in the right place below the keel. It is clear that the painter does not continue the oars of either bank over the gunwale and down the hull, but picks them up, not too carefully, below the keel. The artist's reason for so doing is probably because he wishes to avoid over-complicating the design of his ship with the frequent diagonals of the oars. I am convinced, therefore, that there is nothing in the way of claiming that these two Attic fragments provide representations of two-level ships, and that the Toronto bowl, which was made in Corinth and is earlier than these two fragments (for the incision used on 266 for the eye of the upper left oarsman is indicative of a comparatively later date¹⁹), is the Corinthian counterpart.

When a study of ship representations on Geometric vases between 775 and 700 B.C. had convinced me that in the latter part of the period ships of two levels were being used by the Greeks, and had noted that the first, even if fortuitous, most likely representation came from Corinth, to whom Thucydides had attributed primacy in shipbuilding technique, and since I had been persuaded by Davison that triremes were not being built at this time in Greece, but thought unlikely the conclusion that Thucydides had written a sentence which was such an anti-climax, and that too qualified by a precise date—'the Corinthians were the first in Greece to use the trireme and Corinthian Ameinocles made four ships of one sort or another for the Samians in c. 700 B.C.'—I turned again to the text. I suggest that there may be corruption and what Thucydides actually wrote was:

φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας δίκροτους.

The question then is how did *ναῦς ποιήσας δίκροτους* become *ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας*. I suggest that an early scribe, before the time of the Elder Pliny (because Pliny (*NH* vii. 56.207) actually misquotes from this passage as it stands in the manuscripts), on coming to the comparatively little used word *δίκροτους* mistook the two initial letters *δι* for the symbol of the figure 4, and wrote *τέσσαρας*. What then happened to the remaining *-κροτους*? The MSS. have no record of any letters between the *τέσσαρας* and the *ἔτη* which follows, but in a second-century papyrus (Ox. Pap. XIII, No. 1620) there is a variant reading which the editors think came from an earlier source than the papyrus itself; it is *καὶ ταῦτα* between *τέσσαρας* and *ἔτη*. I suggest that this *καὶ ταῦτα* represents a survival of the unintelligible *-κροτους*. This particular explanation of the probable corruption has been adopted because it also removes the to me superfluous *τέσσαρας*, but it would admittedly be simpler to assume that *ναῦς* was a gloss on *δίκροτους* and crept into the text in its place. The word *δίκροτος*, which has earlier authority than *διήρης*, seems to have been used in Greek literature only when some specific reference had to be made to the actual levels themselves—e.g. Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 5.2, refers to an occasion when the condition of the water was such that those ships which were *δίκροτοι* could only just keep the oars of the lower level out of the water; and Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 1.28, uses *δίκροτοι* of triremes the crews of which had to set sail in such a hurry that the triremes were *δίκροτοι*, two-level ships, since the full complements did not arrive in time. The above emendation with its contrast of three levels (trireme) and two levels can be brought into line with these passages. It would seem that the general term, *μακρὸν πλοῖον*, long ship, and the more specific *πεντηκόντερος* and *τριακόντερος* could be used to cover both single and two-level ships.

¹⁹ J. M. Cook, *BSA* xxxv (1934-5), 171 n. 3.

This emendation gives now a fuller significance to *καὶ Σαμίους*. The force of *καὶ* is said by Davison to express surprise that a citizen of one Greek state should be building ships for another, but the surprise would now be that he should be building ships *of this kind* (two-level ships) for the Samians *of all people*, since with the Samians is associated the *samaina*, which was a two-level ship. The *samaina* is described by Plutarch in c. 26 of his life of Pericles as follows: 'The *samaina* is a ship that is low and flat in the prow so as to look snub-nosed (*Loeb*), but it is broader in the beam (*κοιλοτέρα*), more spacious and rounded, so that it can both travel on the high seas and travel fast. It was so called because it appeared first in Samos, where the tyrant Polycrates had some built.' Now a ship of such beam is just the sort which could be of two levels; in fact the narrow single-level ship could not be converted into a two-level ship simply by increasing the height to accommodate another bank; it would have to be widened as well in order to avoid being top-heavy. Photius' *Lexicon* and Suidas under *Σαμίον ὁ δῆμος* say specifically that the *samaina* was a 'πλοῖον δίσροτον'. They also add that the *samaina* was first built by Polycrates, but this seems to be a telescoping of Plutarch's statement above. The final piece of evidence from these lexicons confirms the identification of the ship on Samian coins as a *samaina*. The earliest known is that which has been dated by Robinson²⁰ between 493 and 489 B.C. and struck by the Samian element at Zankle-Messana (Plate XIV (d)). Clear is the snub ram, the stem with the convex outline, and the forward inclined stem-post (both these latter features are characteristic of Corinthian ships and distinct from the Attic, which show a straight stem-post after c. 700 B.C. and a straight or concave outline to the stem). The important feature is that on the Lloyd specimen in the British Museum between the two lower wales on the right-hand edge of the flan there seem to be two holes about the same distance apart as the struts above. These holes probably represent a row of ports, through which a bank of oars could be rowed. Above is an area of hull; above again, square apertures (probably a rail and struts), through which another bank could row. It is this very structure which appears on the undisputed two-level ships of the sixth century (*cf. infra*) with the lower bank rowing through ports set between wales, and the upper, over the gunwale between the apertures of the rail. Therefore the full meaning of Thucydides i. 13.2 might have been—the Corinthians were the first to adopt the modern shipbuilding technique, and were the first in Greece to build ships of three banks (*triremes*); and ships of two levels were built by Corinthian Ameinocles even for the Samians, who were famous for their two-level *samainas*.

If then the two-level ship was first used in Greece at the end of the eighth century (and even if my emendation should be impugned, this fact is not invalidated), there should be evidence of two-level ships in the interval between the end of the eighth and the second half of the sixth century, when the *trireme*, according to Davison, was introduced into Greece. The prevailing theory is that the life of the two-level ship was a short one—a brief transition between the single-level ship and the *trireme*, but the step from two to three levels involved not a few modifications, but the invention of a new system, the outrigger, and finally the erection of decks.

The best-known of two-level ship representations are on the British Museum black-figure cup, B.436: on either side, a merchantman, *πλοῖον στρόγγυλον*, and a two-level ship (Plate XIV (e)).²¹ The oars of the lower bank emerge from ports, the oars of the upper bank from the top of the gunwale through the square apertures formed by the rail. The ports are bounded by two pairs of lines representing wales; the doubling of the lines probably indicates that a substantial main wale is represented. The two wales well below the level of the gunwale were observed on the coin (Plate XIV (d)).

²⁰ *JHS* lxxi (1946), 14, p. 5-47 (whence Pl. XIV (d)); *SNG* ii. 1081. I am grateful to the B.M. for sending me a cast of this coin.

²¹ J. S. Morrison, *Mariner's Mirror*, 27, No. 1, pl. 6a (whence Pl. XIV (e)); Williams, pl. 88.4c.

An unpublished fragment of an Attic black-figure cup in Oxford (Plate XV(a))²² shows two prows back to back. Here, too, there is a row of ports bounded by a pair of substantial wales with an additional line below, and although there are no oars represented, these ships must be of the same class as the last.

Again, on a ship painted on a fragmentary Attic black-figure jug in the British Museum, B.508 (Plate XIV (f)),²³ there is a row of ports, not quite so clear, between two strong wales, which here extend beyond the prow. Here too there are no oars represented, but the heads of the oarsmen of the lower level, whose oars would have protruded from the ports, can just be made out above the gunwale, while the larger seated figure perhaps represents the upper level; at any rate the hull structure is identical with that on the undisputed two-level ship on the British Museum cup. The subject represented is interesting. It has been said that it is a ship being beached and the youth on the ram is about to jump on to the land. But the usual way of landing was to come on stern first, for in all representations where the ship is beached the stern is to the land—cf. the British Museum bowl (Plate XIII (g)) in the eighth century, the Spartan ivory plaque (*Artemis Orthia*, Plate 119) in the seventh, Theseus' ship on the François vase for the sixth, and the Argo on the Ruvo krater (ARV. 845/1) for the fifth; further, the ladder for landing is always kept in the stern. Again, if this ship had been coming in to land, the sail would have been furled. Surely it represents some unfortunate being made to walk the plank, and the ram might have been made for that sort of thing. This figure is a bit loath to leave and is being prodded in the rear with an oar or spear by the man in the prow compartment; and surely the rude Leagran gesture from the man amidships signifies an ironic farewell. The branches of trees need not mean that land is near, for this painter, if I am right in identifying him with Haspell's Daybreak Painter,²⁴ uses branches as a universal decoration. It is possible that the youth represents Arion, and although his lyre is missing, the dolphin is there below waiting to take him back to Corinth.

Not so well known as the British Museum cup is the Tarquinia neck-amphora which portrays Dionysus in a ship with his satyrs and maenads (Plate XV (b)).²⁵ Dionysus takes the place of mast and sail, static and large in contrast to his gesticulating Lilliputian crew; two vines grow, one forward, and one aft; the boar of the ram raises his eyebrows at such irregularities. All this on a two-level ship. There are eight ports with oars at the lower level, and there should be seven at the upper, but the artist has inserted one too many towards the stern, bringing two upper oars instead of one down between a pair of lower ones. There should then be fifteen oars in all a side—perhaps a two-level triakonter. Both this vase and the preceding ones belong roughly to the last quarter of the sixth century, later than the period in which the trireme is thought to have been introduced into Greece, and they confirm in some way Thucydides' statement (1.14.2) that at this time triremes were still rare and the standard vessels were still pentekonters and long-boats, terms which must cover ships of two levels (cf. above).

To go back into the third quarter of the sixth century, it is not generally recognised that Exekias himself painted a two-level ship on the dinos in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome, which he signed as potter (Plate XV (c)).²⁶ The heads of the upper oarsmen can be seen behind the rail; their oars cross over the gunwale. Well below the gunwale is a definite row of ports with a substantial wale below; this level is not manned, at least there are no oars protruding from the ports, for the simple reason that on this small scale the hull of the ship would have been so scored with the lines of all the oars as to be obscured: in fact, there

²² 1929.359. I am grateful to the Ashmolean Museum for the photograph reproduced in Pl. XV (a).

²³ *ABV*, 426/10; Köster, *Das Antike Seewesen*, p. 46. I am grateful to the B.M. for the photograph reproduced in Pl. XIV (f).

²⁴ *ABL*, pl. 17.

²⁵ Inv. no. 678, *CVA*, pl. 5.1-3; Anderson 41014, whence Williams, pl. 88.4b, and here Pl. XV (b).

²⁶ No. 50599 *ABV*, 146/20. The fragments are not available for photographing at the moment.

is here the same solution adopted by Exekias as was adopted by the painter of the Toronto Geometric bowl (Plate XIV(a)).

A Corinthian aryballos in Athens, in a very much looser style, takes the two-level ship back to the second quarter of the sixth century (Plate XV(d)).²⁷ A virtuoso conductor in the stern is doing his best to re-establish the rhythm at both levels, for the upper rowers are straining forward with their oars about to enter the water at the beginning of their stroke, while the lower oarsmen—all that is seen of them are their oars protruding through ports—have just finished theirs; even the steersman is concerned.

To the early part of the same quarter of the century, perhaps even to the first quarter, belongs the relief of the Argo from the 'Sicyonian' Treasury at Delphi (Plate XV(e)).²⁸ The convex outline to the stem was noted to be common to the Corinthian and the Samian ships, as was the forward inclined stem-post. Not far above the water-line, between wales which stand out strongly in relief, is a row of ports; above again are three more wales before the top of the gunwale is reached. There should be room here too for two levels of oarsmen, one rowing through ports, the other over the gunwale.

A fragment of a Corinthian plaque, illustrated in Köster's *Das Antike Seewesen*, Plate 29, and here Plate XV(f), showing a section of a ship's hull, is earlier still, but how much earlier it is difficult to say. The plaques from Penteskouphia, whence this one may have come, go back as far as the third quarter of the seventh century. Kirk, p. 122, has stated that the two rows of circles along the hull are purely decorative and do not represent ports; this is right, for there are too many of them to be ports, but they are clearly set between lines, and they may well represent the influence of ports and wales, if not the ports themselves.

Seventh-century ship representations of any kind, apart from those on the Boeotian fibulae, which show seemingly an earlier Geometric influence, are rare, but ships with ports are not lacking—one of the ships on the Aristonothos vase,²⁹ for example—but it would be wrong to assume that every ship which had ports was necessarily a two-level ship. The Antimenes Painter on the ships of the fine Madrid dinos, 10902,³⁰ paints semicircular ports attached to the lower edge of the gunwale, so that it would be impossible to find room for another level of oarsmen to row over the gunwale. Again, on a Nikosthenes black-figure cup in the Louvre³¹ the ports are clearly part of the gunwale itself.

From the archaeological evidence I have tried to show that the two-level ship was more widely used than has been thought, that its origin goes back to the end of the eighth century, and that it consequently in no way represents a transient phase between the single-level ship and the trireme; but there is at least one loose end. If the fifty-oared single-level ship was not the last word in naval architecture at the end of the eighth century, when was it invented? First, what was the significant achievement in building a ship of such a size? Originally the number of oarsmen a side would be governed by the length of the single piece of timber available for the keel, and with each oarsman taking just over three feet of room, to which must be added the length of the prow with its ram, and the stern, it is considered unlikely that a keel consisting of a single timber would accommodate more than fifteen oarsmen a side. Therefore the first important development in the progress towards bigger and faster ships was the scarfing of two or more separate timbers to increase the overall length of the keel, and only when this piece of carpentry had been mastered could the length of the ship be increased eventually to take fifty oarsmen, that is twenty-five a side. But an increase in length beyond this involved the risk that a wooden ship of this shape would have its back broken in a swell, so that the next development was in a vertical rather than in a horizontal

²⁷ No. 281. Payne, *Nec.* 1272; Williams, pl. 88.4a; CVA, pl. 2.3 (whence Pl. XV(d)).

²⁸ Köster, pl. 38; De la Coste-Messelière, *Les Musées de Delphes*, pl. xi.

²⁹ Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Köster, pl. 35; Pfuhl, *MusZ* 65; Matz, pl. 162.

³⁰ CVA, pl. 4-7; *ABV*, 275/133; Williams, pl. 87.3c.

³¹ F.123. CVA, pl. 95.7-10.12, and pl. 96; *ABV*, 231/3; Köster, pl. 45.

direction—the two-level ship. If the two-level ship appeared at the end of the eighth century, it is logical to look farther back for the invention of the scarf which was to produce the fifty-oared ship. Of Mycenaean ship representations by far the most seaworthy in appearance is that on the Late Mycenaean vase from Pylos,³² which I believe to be a fifty-oared ship: for in Ripe Geometric each rectangle represented a rower's 'room'; if the same rule applies here, the twenty-five rectangles along the hull should indicate the fifty-oared ship. That the Mycenaeans were capable of scarfing their keels seems likely, if one judges from their frequent use of timber framework for their brick walls. I had hoped that the Mycenaean Linear B tablets would give some further clues to the number of oarsmen in a crew; one tablet does make a tally of thirty men drawn from various Pylian townships to go to Pleuron, sufficient for the crew of a triakonter; another involves much larger numbers,³³ but nothing yet which could have an obvious connexion with a fifty-oared ship. However, Homer's mention³⁴ of rowing crews of fifty should tilt the scales in favour of the existence of the fifty-oared ship in Mycenaean times.

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³² Tragana Tholos Tomb, Kourouniotis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1914, 108, figs. 13-15; Williams, pl. 85.1c.

³³ Ventris and Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, An. 1 and An. 610. ³⁴ *Od.* viii. 35.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MARG (W.) *Homer über die Dichtung*. Münster: Aschenendorff, 1957. Pp. 44. DM 2.80.

In a paper just over thirty pages long (pp. 7-37), followed by seven pages of notes and references (38-44), Professor Marg sets out to describe and discuss Homer's references to the art of poetry. This is a fascinating topic, and one which I have long come to regard as all but inexhaustible; and it was therefore with some disappointment that I found that Marg, after devoting a bare fourteen pages to his announced theme (7-20), had allowed himself to modulate (by way of what I felt was a rather far-fetched comparison) from Demodocus's *Ares and Aphrodite* to the *Shield of Achilles*, and that he had devoted the remainder of his available space to a consideration of *Iliad* xviii. I gladly concede that the second part of Marg's paper was well worth publishing; it contains many excellent remarks, and could have stood perfectly well on its own feet, but its relevance to the topic 'Homer über die Dichtung' is far from obvious (it deals rather with some aspects of 'Die Dichtkunst Homers'), and it takes up space which might well have been devoted to more detailed discussion of such really pertinent topics as the various types of poetry which appear in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (especially perhaps the difference between Demodocus's second song in *Odyssey* viii and the other two), the poet's own remarks (especially perhaps *Iliad* xii. 176), the professional *oidoi* and his relation to his public (this might have helped Marg to give a better answer than he does to the question why *oidoi* play so small a part in the *Iliad*), or the relationship (if any) between the 'Redekunst' which was an essential part of the Achaean nobleman's equipment and the musical activities of Achilles in *Iliad* ix. How valuable Marg's views on such points as these would have been if he had set them out at greater length may be seen from what he has in fact given us; in the pages which he devotes to his announced subject I have found much to agree with and very little to cavil at—but not even Marg's authority (15) will ever induce me to believe that *Iliad* ii. 599 means that Thamyris was blinded.

J. A. DAVISON.

BAGLIO (G.) *Odisseo nel Mare Mediterraneo Centrale*. (Ricerca e coordinazione dei profili di italo-geo-etnografia di Omero nei libri V e IX-XII dell'Odissea.) Rome: Bretschneider, 1957. Pp. 82. L. 600.

This topographical study is based on the hypothesis that Homer in *Odyssey* ix-xii describes actual and identifiable places, not fairylands forlorn. The following identifications are proposed: the Land of

the Cyclops = Sulcis in S.-W. Sardinia; the Island of Aeolus = Maréttimo between Sardinia and Sicily; Laistrygonia = the district round Gaeta; the Island of Circe = Le Arenne, W. of Terracina Alta; the House of Hades = the Phlegræan Fields; the Island of the Sirens = Capri; the Wandering Rocks = crags near Capo Vaticano in Calabria (the term 'wandering' is explained as a reference to seismic movements); Scylla = Stromboli; Charybdis = Panarea, S.-W. of Stromboli; the Harbour of Thrinacia = Messina; Calypso's Island = Malta; Scheria = Corfu; Ithaca = Thiaki.

It would take a bold and far-travelled reviewer to decide whether these identifications are more or less probable than those of Butler, Victor Bérard, or (most recently) L. G. Pocock in *The Landfalls of Odysseus*. But anyone with even a slight knowledge of the northern Mediterranean coasts knows that caves, cliffs, viewpoints (it is charming to find *πρὸς πύργῳ* translated here as *un Belvedere*), shiplike rocks, and curious harbours, are plentiful from Spain to Turkey. Corfu alone, for example, offers the visitor at least three pretenders to the title of 'the Ship of Ulysses'. More remarkable still, if you look down from the village of Lakones on the favourite site for the Polis of Scheria you can see side by side two almost identically shaped peninsulas approximating to the description in *Od.* vi. 263-4. Similarly Butler, followed now by Pocock, could find most of what he was looking for within a few miles of Trapani. In this realm of guesswork the boldest guesser is king.

One expects in a work of this kind that the scanty descriptions provided by Homer should be scrupulously followed. It hardly inspires confidence to find here that, while the cave of Aeolus is (as Homer says) just a cave, the cave of Polyphemus is a Sardinian stone edifice (*nuraghe*; cf. Pausanias x. 17. 2). Why? Only, it seems, because the Land of the Cyclops is Sardinia and such cyclopean buildings were a feature of prehistoric Sardinia. No effort is made to explain why Homer called it a cave and not a house. Equal disregard for the Homeric evidence is shown in the identification of Calypso's island with Malta. Homer, it will be remembered, describes one very unusual feature—the four divergent springs of water near her cave. Bérard's description of how long and how toilsomely he sought this place and how triumphantly he at last found it (to his own satisfaction) on the coast of Africa opposite Gibraltar, is an epic of its kind, showing the heroic qualities of perseverance and single-mindedness. The writer of the present study (who justly observes that Bérard's location could not be described as being 'at the navel of the sea') ignores this clue, though it is the

most striking topographical feature in all the wanderings of Odysseus.

Besides his regional identifications, the author makes the following suggestions: In most of the incidents in Odysseus's wanderings Homer intends to warn Greek sailors against pirates and navigational risks; the *Odyssey* was composed about 900-850 B.C.; Egyptian influence may be detected in the descriptions of Circe and the Land of Spirits. Only slight arguments are offered in support of these opinions. It is disconcerting to find that over a third of the sixty-odd Greek quotations are incorrectly printed, besides several proper names.

W. B. STANFORD.

Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus. Ed. R. MERKELBACH [Archiv für Papyrusforschung, xvi, 1]. Leipzig: Teubner, 1957. Pp. 56, with 6 plates. DM 6.40.

A glance at Pack will reveal that the number of papyrus fragments, which can be assigned to the *Catalogue of Women*, has more than doubled since Rzach's third Teubner edition of Hesiod appeared forty-five years ago. Now Merkelbach is able to add a further six to those published in 1951 by the Italian scholar Traversa (*Hesiodi Catalogi sive Eoecorum Fragmenta*). He has also carried out a fresh examination of eight older fragments, which serves to throw much-needed light on their probable restoration. The conjectures proposed by Merkelbach are both numerous and attractive, especially when compared with the poverty of Traversa's few suggestions. For the moment Merkelbach restricts himself to text, accompanied by palaeographic notes and supplementary material. At the same time he holds out a tantalising promise of discussion at some later date of the contents and structure of the *Catalogue* as a whole, when we shall be presented with a detailed justification for his departure from the order of fragments preferred by others. In anticipation of a future edition of the complete fragments of Hesiod, and with a confident expectation that still more texts wait to be discovered, Merkelbach has devised a new method of numbering the papyrus fragments. Fortunately the inclusion of a comprehensive index, listing the passages in the order adopted by Rzach, Evelyn-White and Traversa, greatly facilitates the wearisome task of cross-reference.

The new fragments supply a *prooemium* to the *Catalogue* and scraps of the six verses, which immediately precede the story of the birth of Heracles, known to us of course as the beginning of the *Aspis* (P.Oxy. 2354 and 2355 = A and P Merk.). A third is concerned with the fate of Athamas, son of Aeolus, and Ino (P.Soc.It. 1383 = E1). From the little that remains, we seem to have a reference to the deification of Ino, who becomes the goddess *Leucothea* because of her kindness to the infant Dionysus. The story is continued by an account of the marriages and offspring of the daughters of Leucon, the son of Athamas (P.Yale 1273 and P.Soc.It. 1383 = E2). Once again it is impossible to be certain about the contents

of much of this fragment, though it appears to represent an attempt to formulate some kind of relationship for the early kings of Boeotia between the descendants of Minyas and Aeolus. A papyrus text in the possession of Achille Vogliano and a few new readings, extracted with difficulty from a photograph, are used to supplement and to extend by scraps of another fourteen lines the ends of nineteen verses, which were found on the verso of P.Berlin 9777 (= F3). While any verdict on its interpretation must be considered provisional until the discovery of what was missing from the left-hand side of the fragment, Merkelbach's restoration of the name *Εὐπρόξ* in the third line and his identification of the fragment with the story of Marpessa at least make partial sense of what is otherwise completely unintelligible. The last of the new fragments preserves part of an interchange between Theseus and the dead Meleager during the course of the former's journey into the Underworld (P.Ibscher = S). Here Meleager seems to tell of his own death at the hands of Apollo, and learns from Theseus the reason why he and Peirithous have penetrated into the depths of Tartarus.

Apart from a half-dozen misprints, none of them particularly serious (e.g. a confusion over the volume number of *Gnomon* for 1955 on p. 2, *Σαλμωνίδης* for Traversa's *Σαλμωνίδης* on p. 7, and the loss of the second accent on *ἐξοχα* before an enclitic on p. 47), Merkelbach's little book is most pleasantly reproduced from *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, xvi, 1, and fully deserves to have been made available to this wider audience. It certainly whets the appetite for the more exhaustive treatment of the fragments of Hesiod, promised for the future.

P. WALCOT.

KITTO (H. D. F.) Form and Meaning in Drama.

A study of six Greek plays and of *Hamlet*. London: Methuen, 1956. Pp. ix+341. 30s.

In his first six chapters Professor Kitto resumes his investigations into Aeschylus and Sophocles with particular reference to the *Oresteia*, *Philoctetes*, *Antigone* and *Ajax*. The choice of plays is determined partly to allow of some modification of views expressed in his book of 1939, and partly to serve as a suitable vehicle for working out the concept of 'religious drama' which forms the mainspring of the book. The last 140 pages are taken up with an analysis of *Hamlet* from this point of view and observations of the relation of Greek and Elizabethan drama. Kitto's vivacity of exposition does not diminish with the years, and a certain genial informality of presentation might make one suspect, even if we were not told (p. viii) that in part the book grew out of lectures. Though he may offer at one point a whimsical parody of Aristotle (p. 216) and at another gaily rewrite the end-plot of the *Philoctetes* ('beating Sophocles at his own game', p. 129) or pull our legs by throwing out a pair of convincingly Sophoclean iambs of his own composing to express what might, but does not

follow *Ant.* 538 (p. 141), his argumentation is entirely serious and will need to be pondered by those who next go over the same ground.

While confessing to some dissatisfaction with parts of his earlier criticism, especially of the *Philoctetes*, he adheres firmly to his *credo*, that, as the ancient dramatists knew their craft, the form and structure of a tragedy is the only valid clue to its meaning. He retains too his salutary aversion to 'tacit assumption' (p. 148). Considerable play is made of the several 'illogicalities', particularly in Sophocles, which have attracted critical attention. These are treated at greater length than in his earlier book and even apparently quite trivial ones (e.g. the alteration of the punishment at *Ant.* 772) may be taken as indicators of the playwright's design, whether it is likely that ancient audiences were conscious of them or not.

In reading his earlier book one was often uncomfortably aware, in spite of its obvious merits, that all depended on grasping the right 'tragic idea', whose elusiveness made this at times a rather hit-or-miss business, and felt the force of Professor Winnington-Ingram's criticism (*CR.* liv (1940), p. 80) that Kitto had not indicated the 'genus that embraces the varying tragic conceptions of the three tragedians'. How far the idea of 'religious drama' now put forward goes to meet this may perhaps be debated, for there is only passing reference to Euripides, and the idea is itself Protean, having to be thought out afresh for each play or group of plays: it is a matter of seeing 'the "divine background", whatever that may prove to be in this play' (p. 251: something very similar, p. 154). Thus Kitto's concept of a 'dual plane', of, that is, 'the autonomous human actors and the divine actor working on parallel paths' (p. 74), requires of us a different idea of deity from that with which we habitually operate, as appears most clearly from his account of the Apollo of the Sophoclean *Electra*, who is 'neither god nor devil' (*ibid.*), but 'something that resembles a law of nature rather than what we think of as a god'. This is a promising approach, though linked here (p. 71 f.) with an exposition of a 'progressive' Zeus (and Apollo too) which is likely to provoke controversy, in view of Reinhardt's essay¹ and, more recently, Mr. Lloyd-Jones's article in the 1956 number of this Journal (76, pp. 55 f.). It is perhaps a little surprising that Kitto should claim that the case for a 'progressive' Zeus has not been fully argued before: a good deal was said by Solmsen as lately as 1948, apart from other authorities cited by Mr. Lloyd-Jones on p. 56 (footnote 21) of his article. Kitto does not seem disturbed by what may only be a formal point, in that a god who is *ex hypothesi* 'progressive' is not easily identified with a law of nature. The use of the vague verb 'typify' on p. 74 may perhaps conceal a tinge of uneasiness on this score. It might be tidier to think of the upper element of Kitto's dual plane as itself duplex, with abstracts (like *Dike*) at one level and (progressive) gods at another.

¹ *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* (Bern, 1949).

In the chapter on *Hamlet* the differences between Greek and Elizabethan tragedy (for which Kitto makes full allowance) may seem such as to vitiate useful comparison, although resemblances (more particularly with the *OT*) have been noted independently. If superficial parallels for ancient drama are wanted, the most likely place to find them may not be Shakespeare at all, but opera, as Ernest Newman once pointed out in a newspaper article. Kitto is, however, concerned with the fundamental ideas of the play, and as a self-contained piece of criticism I found this section relevant to ancient drama and satisfying. My amateur's judgment is here fortified by that of a Shakespearian critic of distinction, Professor Coghill, who has kindly allowed me to record here his own appreciation of what Kitto has written on *Hamlet* in this book. Curious, incidentally, and somewhat disquieting to observe that Shakespearian criticism is not immune from those vagaries that we are also familiar with: excursions into sixteenth-century demonology and the like in the cause of exegesis recall, though they do not justify, some of the anthropological speculations that have been applied to ancient texts.

In this book a number of long-standing critical problems receive clear-cut, if at times rather unexpected, answers. These include:

(a) *Agamemnon* 527. As in 1940 (*JHS* lx, p. 111) Kitto rallies to the defence of this unlucky line, on whose content he, like Weir Smyth (*Aeschylean Tragedy*, p. 65), lays some stress. He gives grounds which go some way to meeting Fraenkel's point (commentary, p. 266 n. 1), but does not notice, as Denniston-Page do (commentary, *ad loc.*), the hint contained in line 538.

(b) *Choephores* 434-8. Arguments based on the firmness of Orestes' attitude to the task before him are adduced against the suggested transposition of these lines to the end of the *kommos*.

(c) It is interesting to see Kitto arguing for eleven jurors (plus Athena) in the trial-scene in the *Eumenides*. His reason for gainsaying an impressive weight of ancient testimony and modern opinion is the eleven-fold sequence of couplets (711-30) followed by the triplet 731-3.

(d) Creon in the *Antigone*, off-stage during the Chorus on Man, is for good dramatic reasons on-stage throughout the fourth stasimon, the ensuing *kommos* and the *Danai*-ode. The interpretation of this play is one of the best things in the book: Drachmann's (and Rouze's) naturalistic views of the double-burial disposed of, the illogicalities or 'distortions' are examined and ingeniously assimilated into the critique, together with one previously unnoticed (p. 143), on the timing of Ismene's reprieve (line 769). The passage 905-20 is taken as genuine; here one could wish that the argument had been expanded.

It is impossible to animadvert here to the many suggestive and acute points made in the course of this book. Its interest more than compensates for a number of small slips and wrong or incomplete

references.¹ The impression persists that this is something of an 'interim report' on its writer's reflections on tragedy: I hope that he will give us further instalments from time to time. His views are always well worth pondering, whether one finds oneself entirely in sympathy with the conclusions or not. May we hope too that one day he may see his way to giving us a 'grammar of dramatic technique' (the phrase is Professor Fraenkel's)? Some of the material for it can be found embedded in this and in his earlier book, but a systematic presentation might well lead to useful results and there is no one better fitted than Professor Kitto to write it.

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

AESCHYLUS. Agamemnon. Ed. J. D. DENNISTON and D. PAGE. Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xxxix + 249. 21s.

It is to be hoped that the modest size of this work will not lead anyone to pass it over as merely a superior school edition of the play, for it is much more than that. Dr. Denniston had drafted a commentary, which was found among his papers after his lamented death. It was handed over to Professor Page, who added an introduction and a critical text and revised the commentary, making use of Fraenkel's edition, which had not been available when the original draft was written. It is thus the joint work of two excellent scholars, containing much that is original, though of course making abundant use also, with proper acknowledgment, of the work of Fraenkel and other predecessors.

To review the introduction adequately is not possible here, for it is not enough to say that I find something to disagree with in nearly every paragraph between pp. x and xxxvi. To my mind, Page makes the Aeschylean gods far too arbitrary and the human characters much too helplessly the victims of an overruling power, call it fate or what you will; but to discuss this would take considerable space. It need hardly be said that the purely factual sections, though brief, are lucid and accurate. They deal with the life of the poet and the transmission of his text.

The text is on the whole conservative, many notorious cruces being simply left as the MS. tradition gives them, with the usual conventional signs of corruption appended. I note with pleasure that at 69-71 Farnell's exegesis has been heeded and the ridiculous *oîre daskipour* got rid of, and also that the old superstition that 1227-30 is badly corrupt has been abandoned. Page admits one emendation, *ederelebasan* for *kai stivasa*, making it govern *dikip* and taking *redstou* as from *τιτχάειν*, not *redχεν*. This may be right, though I do not think it really essential.

The commentary is of necessity brief, especially as compared to that of Fraenkel, to say nothing of some earlier editions. But it is not inadequate, being full of good suggestions as to grammar, interpretation, and broader aspects of criticism, such as the 'business'

of the various scenes. Probably no one will ever quite agree with anyone else's interpretation of so difficult a play, and by way of sample I give a select list of passages, all within two hundred lines or so, in which I think the commentary might be the better of revision. In 1012 Houseman's *παμονός* is rejected because 'it does not exist in Greek, and there is no reason why it should have been invented here'. That a word is not attested in the surviving literature is not a cogent reason for rejecting it, seeing that tomorrow's chance find may contain it, and it is a perfectly legitimate formation, being to *pāma* as *πημονή* to *πῆμα*. Moreover, it makes excellent sense. At 1122, the objections raised to the conjecture *ἀντὶ καὶ δοτὶ πτωχίσμοις* appear to me oversubtle and far-fetched, a fault which I seem to detect in some few other places also. At 1145-8 a new reading is proposed, namely to transpose *μόρον* and *βίον*, making the latter into *βίος*, because the exclamatory acc. does not seem to exist in pre-Hellenistic Greek. This is plausible, but one of the reasons given, that *μόρος* never means anything but 'death' in Aeschylus, is to my mind refuted by 1600, if by no other passages. The note also rather misses the sense of *ἀντὶ*, which is that the nightingale has a pleasant life *except* for her laments. On 1166, it is rightly seen that the lack of a word which could be rendered 'heart' stands in the way of translating *θραύματα* by 'heart-break', but surely the meaning is much the same as what we express by such phrases as 'shattering (news)'. On 1207, the note on *τόμα* I feel completely misses the point; is it not a paraphrase of the *ἡ θέμις ἐστὶν* of l. 276, cf. 134? But within the same space I find much to commend, for instance the intelligent handling of 1110 (*ΧΕΙΡ* to be understood as *χεῖρ*, not *χεῖρ*, giving a clear construction and doing away with the need for Hermann's *ἀπείματα* in place of *ἀπεγομένα*). I might lengthen this list greatly, and add to it many good things from other parts of the commentary.

The book ends with an essay on the metres of the play, with a particular discussion (p. 239 f.) of 239 f.

H. J. ROSE.

Der Agamemnon des Aeschylus, ein Vortrag.

By EDUARD FRAENKEL. Artemis: Verlag, Zürich und Stuttgart, 1957. Pp. 38. Price not stated.

This lecture on the *Agamemnon*, first delivered at the University of Cologne in 1948, is a sketch of the play interspersed with occasional comment and interpretation. In this limited space the author cannot go deeply into controversial matters, but he naturally devotes a few pages to a point that is central in any interpretation, the guilt of Agamemnon, and maintains, as in his edition, that Agamemnon has to choose between two evils and that Aeschylus represents him as choosing rightly. He relies partly on the words which Aeschylus (assuming that the chorus speak for the dramatist) gives to Agamemnon in 206-7, though it might of course be objected that this is Agamemnon's line of thought, not necessarily endorsed by Aeschylus. The lecture as a whole succeeds admirably in evoking

¹ Thus, e.g., p. 15: *Persae* 511 should be *Persae* 811: this slip has a long history (see Fraenkel, *ad loc.*).

the atmosphere of the play and bringing out the significance of individual scenes, and it is such as could only have been written by a scholar who has devoted many years of loving study to 'ein der grossen Gedichte aller Zeiten'. To hear it must have been a delightful experience, and an English version would certainly provide an excellent introduction to the play for young students in this country.

P. T. S.

WEBSTER (T. B. L.) Greek Theatre Production.

London: Methuen, 1956. Pp. xv+206, with 24 plates. 25s.

No one but Webster could have written this admirable book, combining as it does the masterly use of archaeological and literary material in a very specialised field. Pickard-Cambridge and others have written fully and informatively on the Greek, particularly the Athenian theatre; but more remained to be said, especially about centres outside Attica, about costume in general and masks in particular, and about the dating of the various changes in theatre-construction and scenery. This has now been said, and it is good to have the results of W.'s researches, previously scattered in various periodicals, summed up between the covers of a very readable book.

W.'s stated object is 'to give a general account of the way in which the ancient Greeks produced their plays at different places, and at different times'. After an examination of the available sources and an appraisal of their relative value, he deals in turn with the various parts of the Greek world. Athens comes first and, as is to be expected, takes the lion's share. A discussion on the form of the theatre, scenery and stage machinery is followed by a section on costume. This vexed question is dealt with clearly and concisely, and the timely warning is given that vase-paintings cannot be used as evidence to the same extent as terracottas, because of the vase-painter's habit of letting his imagination run riot and of painting more than he sees. The extremely thorny subject of Pollux and his lists of masks for Tragedy and Comedy is dealt with fully and completely; it really seems as if no more can usefully be said on this subject.

Athens is followed by Italy and Sicily; phryx vases and terracottas form the main interest. Then Mainland Greece (Sparta, Corinth, Boeotia, Megara, Olynthus, Delphi), with vase-evidence for the early periods. The theatre inscriptions from Delos come next, and are used to good purpose. Finally, a few monuments from Asia and Africa are considered.

After a summing-up, W. lists a selection of the most important monuments, taken from his own encyclopaedic dossier. This is an admirable work of reference, giving all the relevant information in a concise form: find-spot, date, present whereabouts and bibliography.

The plates are clear and well chosen, and contain a high proportion of directly datable material. It

is, however, a disadvantage that the reader cannot refer directly from the plates to the text, nor from the text to the plates, but has to use the list of monuments for either operation.

This book will be read with enjoyment and profit not only by archaeologists and students of Greek drama, but also by the much wider circle of those interested in the theatre as such. The price is reasonable.

R. A. HIGGINS.

Aeschylus. Ed. D. Grene and R. Lattimore.

VOL. II. *The Suppliant Maidens, The Persians*, trans. S. G. BENARDETE. *Seven against Thebes, Prometheus Bound*, trans. D. GRENE. University of Chicago Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1956. Pp. 179. 26s.

In the first volume of this series Mr. Lattimore translated the *Oresteia*; in this one S. G. Benardete translates *Suppliques* and *Persae*, and David Grene the *Septem* and the *Prometheus Vincit*. Mr. Grene's general introduction makes it clear that they have aimed at a literal, unpretentious rendering, without attempting to impose a unified style on plays so very different in date and scope. Both translators are clearly sensitive to the dramatic significance of their material and to the peculiar qualities of Aeschylean style which make him especially intractable to the translator; his kaleidoscopic imagery, his grandeur and his boldness of conception and invention. Their own verse, after the manner of so many modern translations, seems uneasily poised between normal speech rhythms and a more formal, conventional poetic style; and though it conveys the sense of the text plainly and straightforwardly for the most part, it rarely achieves the sonorousness which seems proper to Aeschylus and only sometimes the flow which gives vigour and naturalness to an acting edition. In the *PV*, Mr. Grene prefers to reproduce in prose some sections which 'seemed to him, intolerable in any strictly formalised medium in English'. Yet his verse is far from formal and his prose is not always free from constraint—for example at *PV* 17:

'Yet there is constraint upon me to have heart for just that, for it is a dangerous thing to treat the Father's words lightly.'

In verse, too, literalness can be near to bathos, e.g. 118 ff.:

'What sound, what sightless smell approaches me?
God sent or mortal or mingled?
Has it come to earth's end
To look on my sufferings,
Or what does it wish?'

and *Septem* 456, to which other similar passages could be cited, seems oddly archaic and obscure:

'Now I shall tell him that by lot won next
Station at the gates.'

But his blank verse at its best runs freely and simply, and suggests that he would have been wise to per-

severe with it throughout. Mr. Benardete achieves a more stately line without losing the clarity of exposition which is Mr. Grene's main attraction, and both would gain something in dignity by avoiding colloquialisms such as 'I'm' and 'he'll'; to ask for a more Miltonic line and vocabulary would be, no doubt, to run counter to their purpose and inclination. In their lyrics they succeed in bringing out the thought-pattern of strophe and antistrophe, and there are some happy experiments in simple equivalents to the original metres (for example, *PV* 413 ff.). Sometimes understanding is hampered by obscurity, e.g. by inversions of verb and subject or object, as in *Person* 543 ff.:

'... Ladies of Persia
softly are weeping
desiring each
him to behold
wedded but lately'

for αἱ δ' ἀργόμοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν|πρόθεμοντα ἰδοῖν
ἀπρὸς ἑαυτὰς.

Brief introductions precede each play, and might have been usefully supplemented with notes on geographical and mythological allusions. There are inevitably a few misprints, one of the droller ones being at *PV* 428 (p. 155) 'Alas' for 'Atlas'. Typographically the volume is both pleasanter and clearer than the Penguin translations which are its English equivalent, and it is well bound. Like them it will serve its purpose best if it leads the Greekless reader to search out other translations of different periods, and by comparing them to look with better understanding into the distorting mirror which is all even the most gifted translator can hold up to his original text.

P. G. MASON.

MARTIN (J.) *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1955. Pp. 310. Fr. 3,000.

This is a valuable supplement to the edition of Aratos reviewed elsewhere in this Journal. A history of the text of an author can be a very dull performance, however necessary to editors and careful readers; this has something of the interest of a good detective story, comprising as it does an elaborate search, not for a criminal, but for an ancient critical edition with commentary of Aratos's immensely popular poem. The *Phaenomena* have come down to us in a number of MSS. of various dates from about the year 1100 onwards, supplemented by a few papyri of no great importance. To arrange these authorities in families after the usual manner is impossible (p. 229), for they do not fall into classes distinguished by peculiar readings, lacunae or other defects in common, or any of the ordinary tests. The reason is that comparisons of one copy with another were constantly going on, and therefore any MS. may have readings derived from a source different from its immediate model. They do, however, fall into groups, and by tracing the descent of these not a little

may be learned of the fortunes of the text and, what is equally important for Martin's purpose, of the explanatory matter which many, but not all, copies carry. The research has involved much examination of material either still unpublished or set forth inadequately, for even the important work of Maass (*Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae*, 1898) leaves much to be desired. Martin sets forth (p. 279) his views on how the scholia ought to be edited, adding 'Le résultat présenterait avec la publication de Maass des différences surprenantes'. Perhaps he will find leisure and opportunity to undertake this complicated and difficult task himself; it certainly would not be easy to find anyone better qualified to do so.

It is impossible, for reasons of space, to give anything like a complete analysis, to say nothing of a detailed criticism, of Martin's elaborate arguments. I therefore attempt no more than a brief sketch of his methods and final results. On the whole, he finds our evidence abundant and the state of the text generally satisfactory (pp. 9 ff.). We know enough of early divagations, especially of deliberate suppressions of the opening lines and their replacement by spurious substitutes, to say that up to about the beginning of the Christian era there was no single authoritative text current. Much may be learned by studying the explanatory matter, which includes not only the existing scholia but also (besides of course the well-known treatise of Hipparchos) the various descendants of what pretty obviously was an elaborate introduction to the study of the poem, including astronomical matter, star-myths and so forth. Of this there are two outstanding witnesses, the *Catasterismi* of ps.-Eratosthenes and the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, besides much information to be got from the scholia and the various forms of the biography of the poet, supplemented by the surviving scholia on the translation of Germanicus, which are derived from a Greek commentary, and also by that extraordinary and illiterate document, the seventh-century Aratus Latinus. The ultimate source of all this matter was a work which our authorities ascribe almost without contradiction to Eratosthenes himself, and there is no sufficient reason for denying his authorship (p. 124). He was not commenting directly on the *Phaenomena*, but writing a sort of prolegomena to the study of it.

Combining this information with that which can be got from tracing the various groups of MSS. to their demonstrable or probable sources, Martin finally arrives at the following history of the text. There was an ancient edition, in all probability by Theon the grammarian (not Theon the astronomer, father of Hypatia, see pp. 196-9, though the two are sometimes confused). Its date therefore would be about the beginning of our era. From this there were derived two editions, one with a complete commentary and the other a shorter one which Martin styles Φ (schema on p. 294). From these, by one route or another, come all the surviving authorities, Greek or Latin, the former continuing till the fifteenth century, the latter to the seventh.

It is not worth while to mention a few small disagreements with the author on petty details. The printing of the book is for the most part accurate and clear, but the accentuation of Greek words leaves something to be desired.

H. J. ROSE.

Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum. Vol. I, fasc. 1, 2. Ed. A. HAUSRATH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1956. Pp. xvi+335. DM 14.40.

The delays caused by two world wars prevented H. from seeing his Aesop published in its entirety. Fasc. 1 is now reprinted with a few corrections; fasc. 2, completed before H.'s death in 1944, has been seen through the press by H. Haas, who has increased its usefulness by adding an *Index Verborum*. The whole volume contains the text of all the various versions of the fables, with a fairly full *apparatus criticus*.

The MSS. represent one or another, or sometimes one and another, of three principal recensions. The first, and far and away the most important, is *Recensio Augustana* (contained in cod. Monacensis 564, olim Augustanus), a collection made probably not later than the second century A.D. The other recensions—*Vindobonensis* and *Accursiana*—derive ultimately from the *Augustana*. B. E. Perry, the best authority on the subject, has shown reason for thinking that *Vind.* is not earlier than the eleventh century and *Acc.* not earlier than the fourteenth.¹

When H. began his work, no critical edition existed. In consequence, however, of the delays in its completion, the first critical edition published was that of E. Chambry (*Aesopi Fabulae*, Paris, 1925-6), which, like H.'s, contains the versions of all three recensions. Moreover, in 1952 there appeared Perry's edition,² consisting mainly of the versions of Rec. I. It happens, therefore, that three critical editions are now available. Perry's has the best text, and very much the best *apparatus*, of Rec. I; and for most purposes the absence of the later versions does not matter. The only disadvantages of the book are its weight and its

price. All libraries should have it. Chambry's text is generally satisfactory. The value of his *apparatus* is impaired by the fact that he could know nothing of the oldest and probably best MS., which was re-discovered only in 1929,³ but so far as all the other MSS. are concerned, it is both fuller and very much more accurate than H.'s.

H.'s text is preceded by a preface dealing chiefly with the history of the text and with previous editions. H. makes much of an improbable theory that the extant versions of the fables were written as exercises by pupils in schools of rhetoric or as models by teachers. To account for the fact that variations between MSS. consist largely in the mere substitution of one word or phrase for another, he supposes that the writers all worked from 'eodem libro scholastico'. An unlikely kind of exercise to have persisted for centuries—copying fables from a standard textbook with insignificant verbal changes! Rec. II is dated by H. in the sixth or seventh century, Rec. III in the ninth—both dates being probably much too early.

In addition to the traditional collections, the text includes some fables old or new culled from rhetoricians and other late sources. Since there was room for these—largely repetitions of familiar stories—it is a pity that space was not made for the few fables extant in classical authors, some of which are not otherwise known. The text is well printed and generally satisfactory. It is not difficult to compile a good text of Rec. I. Since, corruptions apart, the sense is seldom seriously affected by the choice of this or that variant, it is largely a case merely of following what seems to be the best tradition—represented most often by Cr and A. Generally speaking, H. has done this, in spite of a preference which he expresses for another group of MSS. (CFCas).⁴ Indeed, he sometimes relies too much on A; on the other hand he would have done well to rely more on Cr—the importance of which he seems to have been

¹ *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (1936), pp. 204 ff., 229-30; *Classical Philology*, xxxvii, pp. 208-9.

² *Aesopica*, Vol. 1: *Greek and Latin Texts*. In reviewing this edition in CR lxxvii, H. J. Rose commits himself to the surprising statement that it is 'the first full and critical edition of Aesop that has ever existed'. He does indeed mention Chambry's edition of twenty-seven years earlier, but seems never to have heard that it contains an *apparatus criticus*—though Perry mentions that fact in the work then under review, and though Chambry's *apparatus* is particularly 'full', inasmuch as it deals with all three recensions and reports readings of forty-six MSS. As for Hausrath's Fasc. 1, Rose ignores it altogether. It may well be that there were few copies in this country in 1953; but Perry's edition refers more than once to the existence of H.'s.

³ This tenth century MS. (Hausrath's Cr) was until about 1800 in the monastery of Grottaferrata, and then disappeared—looted, very likely, in the Napoleonic occupation—for a century. In 1929 Perry learned that it was in the Pierpont Morgan library, having been bought from a Paris dealer 'who had nothing to say about where it came from'. It is the oldest MS. by nearly two centuries; and, though prone to orthographical error, it is in Perry's opinion more reliable, as a witness to the most ancient form of the text, than any other single MS. Cr and A (cod. Monac. 564) agree more closely than any other two MSS., and together represent the oldest and best tradition.

⁴ These are H.'s *sigla*. A different set was used by Chambry and adopted by Perry. Unfortunately H. had already invented his own, and stuck to them. Thus C (Hausrath) = Pg (Chambry and Perry); F = Mb; Cas = Ca; Cr = G (Perry only); O = Pc; E = Pa; A = Pb; B = Ma; Ba = Mo.

determined to underrate.⁸ His choice of readings is not always well-judged. In 11.4⁸ the fut. infin. ἐξελεσθῆναι (CrA) is more suitable than C's ἐξάλλασθαι. In 56.9 H. rejects for a trivial reason the epimythion of CrAEO in favour of an inferior one from CCas. In 123.4-5 he perversely adopts a violent anacoluthon from later MSS. (ἀφικόμενος . . . καὶ . . . ἴδων ἄλλους αὐτὸν . . . ἀπὸδοσαν) in place of the straightforward reading of CrAE. In 211.5 CrA's δ καρκίνος (before ἀνακτῆρας) makes the sense much clearer; in line 7 C's ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀνείλε καὶ ἴδων αὐτὸν is satisfactory, without H.'s interpolation from MSS. of Rec. III. In other passages he prints a false text in apparent ignorance of what is in the MSS. In 2.7 the incorrect τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν (A) is adopted without mentioning the εὐνοῦ of the other MSS. In 6.13 A's otiose μεζόνως is given without a hint that no other MS. has it. In 182.4 H. prints ἔφησεν αὐτῇ . . . εἶπαι . . . μὲν, and in line 7 ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ μὴ μὲν εἶπαι—ungrammatical readings, and the latter without MS. authority—being apparently unaware that nearly all MSS. have εὐνοῦ or αὐτῇ (i.e. αὐτῇ).⁹ There are also mistakes due to inadvertence: 1.4 omission of εἰσελθοῦσα before εἰς; 6.12-13 omission of καὶ after ἀλλὰ, and σοι after χθές; 182.1 omission of τῆς before γῆς; 242.1 ἐφ' ὧν substituted for κατέφυγεν. Presumably, too, διακροῦσονται in 1.23 is a misprint for διακροῦνται—since no MS. has the future, and, if H. thought he was printing the present, that would explain his not stating that it is the reading of F and others. How ἀπορία came to stand instead of ἐρημία in 3.1, and how ἡ ἀλίστηξ came to be interpolated into the text in 9.18, is not obvious, but these corruptions must be accidental.

The disappointing part of the book is the apparatus, which is shockingly inaccurate. Many variants in the chief MSS. are omitted; there are frequent omissions in the citation of authority for variants; and often it is not made clear on what MSS. the adopted reading rests. There are also many positive misstatements. Perry listed over one hundred errors in his review of fasc. 1;¹⁰ and in an examination of forty fables, chosen from both fascicles, I have noted over one hundred. If the fables examined are a representative specimen, the total number of errors, in Rec. I alone, must be at least six hundred.

One serious source of error lies in the fact that H. omitted to examine the rediscovered Cr, and relied on Perry's collation of it with Chambry's text.¹¹ Perry distinctly stated (p. 80) that this collation was not

complete. Yet H. assumed that, whenever Perry was silent, Cr read the same as Chambry;¹² and he made matters worse by failing often to reproduce accurately variants which were listed. The number of mistakes made in reporting readings of other MSS., all of which H. claims to have collated, is astounding, especially as most of the true readings were given in Chambry's edition of 1925-6. The following are some of the corrections that need to be made in the forty fables examined (actual readings of MSS. are given first,¹³ then H.'s erroneous reports, explicit misstatements being marked with asterisks): 1.9 τὸν . . . θανάτου Cr (τῷ . . . θανάτῳ) | 10 πτηνόν Cr (πετεινόν) | 18 πῆναι Cr (πτηνός*) | 19 δραμοῦσα Cr (προσδρ.) | 22 ἐκ τῶν Cr (τῶν) | κλάσει δι' ἀσθενείας Cr (κάλισιν) | 2.2 τοῦτον Cr (τοῦτο*) | 3 ἡθέλησε CrCEf (ἡθέλε) | καθήσας Cr (καθεῖς) | 3 αὐτῶν ὀρέχον Cr (αὐτοῦ τῶν ὄν.) | 4.9 μεβεῖναι αὐτῇ λόγουσα C (μὴ λέγ.*) | 4 ὥς οὐ C (ὥς) | 9 ὁ—ὅτι om. CrCE (not noted) | 10 μεζόνων πραγμάτων CrACE (μεζόνων) | 5.3 παρέχεσθαι Cr (παρὰσχέσθαι*) | παρὰσχέσθαι C (δοῦναι*) | ἀγαγὼν C (προσγ.) | 4 ἐν ᾗ εἶχε μόνην C ἐνῇ μόνην εἶχε Cr (ἦν εἶχε μ. CCr*) | μόνην E (μόνον*) | 6.5 προσαγγεῖν Cr προ- C (παρ-) | 11 καταλείψουσιν C (-ποῦσιν) | 12 καὶ δια C (δι' αὐτό) | 14 σὺν σοὶ CrC (σὺ) | 15 προσελίσσωσιν C (προσελίσσωσιν*) | 9.1 ἐμπέσσοσα C (πεσσοῦσα); πεσσοῦσα A (ἐμπ.) | 9 σκοπομένης C (σκοποῦντος) | οἶδα ἐὰν μόνον θελήσῃς E (οἶδα*: ἐὰν μ. θ., omitted here, is wrongly inserted in the note on line 10) | 10 εἰστίων C (ἀρρατρίων) | ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς Cr (εἰ γ. θελήσῃς*) | 11 τείχει A (τοίχῳ*) | τῷ τόχῳ προσερίσας ἐγκλίπει καὶ τὰ κέρατα Cr (τῷ τοίχῳ προσερίσας ἐγκλίνας τὰ κ.*) | 13 ἀναριθμῶσα A (ἀνασπῶσα) | 18 παρυβανέσῃς C (-σας*) | 21 ἡ om. C (not noted) | ἐπεσκέψω C (ἐσκέψω) | 10.3 περιτοχοῦσα Cr C (ἐπι-) | 4 μὲν—πρότερον om. A (ἐφοβήθη—πρότερον om. A*) | οὕτως Cr (οὕχ οὕτως) | 5 προσελθοῦσαν αὐτοῦ Cr (προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ) | 12.3 ἐπιτοχοῦσα C (ὑπο-) | 13.6 οὕτως καὶ τὰ ἐνάντια προελήρηται Cr (ὥς οὐ εἰ. προσελήρηται*) | προελήρηται A (προσ-*) | 16.2 ἀρξάμενος Cr (-ρος) | 11 ἀφορμῶν Cr (-μάς*) | 12 ἡ ποτηρὰ C (πορ.*) | 17.1 ἐκκοπίσας C (ἄπο-) | 3 προαγγεῖν Cr (προσ-) | 4 συγκρίψει C (συγκρίψῃ) | 7 ἐπολαβοῦσα C (ἐπαυχοῦσα) | 8 εἰ ἡσοὶ Cr (εἰ σοι: ἡ in Cr is evidently an indication of the μὴ which H. says is omitted in the codd.) |

¹⁰ An examination of the two pages of Cr reproduced in facsimile in *Studies* should have shown H. how far this was from being the case.

¹¹ I have myself verified from photographs all readings of C, and those of A in fables 236-46; and I am greatly indebted to Prof. Perry for re-checking, from his photographs, almost all the readings of Cr and F. For readings not verified from photographs, I have consulted the editions of Chambry and Perry; J. G. Schneider's edition of A (*Fabulae Aesopicae e cod. Aug.*, 1812), L. Sternbach's edition of E (*Fabularum Aesopiarum Sylloge*, 1894), and Sternbach's collation of A with F in *Wiener Studien*, xvii, pp. 75 ff.

⁸ On p. vii he foolishly disparages the codex and gratuitously doubts the accuracy of Perry's collation of it.

⁹ Fables are cited by number and line of Rec. I. The remainder of this review, except the final paragraph, refers to the text and apparatus of Rec. I.

¹⁰ For accus. and infin. in such sentences, cf. 124-4.

¹¹ *Classical Philology*, xxxvii, pp. 207 ff.

¹² *Studies*, pp. 82 ff.

9 συνεβούλευε C (-λευσαι) | 20.4 ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶπεν C (ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶπη) | 179.4 χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου C (χ. γενομένου*) | 7 ἀπολύεσθαι C (ἀπολύσας) | 182.2 σωτηρίας αὐτῆς C (σωτ.*) | 6 θοιήσεται F (-σηται*) | 202.6 οἰοι σοί C (τούτους δὲ καὶ προσ-
 ώντας*) | 187.2 E' (-τας*) | 208.4 μὴ θῆναι Cr (μυθεῖναι*) | 232.1 πρὸς τὸν κήροντα ἔφη Cr (ἔφη) |
 239.5 σοβεῖν Cr (δοκεῖν) | 236.1 καθίσταται A (καθι-
 στάσα*) | τὸ κέντρον A (τῷ κέντρῳ) | 239.6 συμβολῇ
 A (ἐμβολῇ*) | οὕτως οὖν A (not noted) | 242.5 καί-
 ἡττόνων οὖν Cr A (ἡττόνων deest in Cr; not noted
 for A) | 244.4 δ' ἀετός A (ἀετός) | 5 δυνατοῦς Cr
 (δυνατός*) | κεκοσμεῖσθαι Cr (δεῖ νομιζεσθαι*) |
 246.6 θεός Cr (δῖος*) | 7 καὶ ὑμῖν Cr (ὑμῖν*) |
 8 πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων πραγμάτων A (πολλὰς
 καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πρ.) | 250.4 μισεῖν E (μισεῖ*) |
 5 For the MSS. reading οὐκ ἔδ', Schneider conjectured
 οὐκ ἔδ'ε [sic]: H. misquotes this as οὐκ ἔδ' and refers
 it to ὥστε ἔδ' in line 4, where it makes no sense. | 6
 ἀλλ' ὅταν Cr¹² (ἀλλό) | 7 θύσει Cr (θύση*): θύση A
 (θύη*) | 9 φερόμενα A (προσφ.) | 251.5 ἀλλ' ἐν A
 (ἐν δέ*) | 252.2 δὲ αὐτὸν C (δὲ) | 253.3 τοῦτον δὲ
 παρὰ τὸν τόπον τις τῶν ἐργαζώων C (τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν
 τόπον ἐργ. τις) | περὶ Cr A (ἐπὶ*) | 6 κενὸν εἶπε C
 εἶρε*).

It is a pity that this child of the house of Teubner, after so many years' gestation, should have been brought forth disfigured by such blemishes, and no attempt made to remove them. But when a bad apparatus has once been printed, an editor or reviser is in a quandary. If he leaves it alone, it will mislead those who use it; if he tries to correct its errors in an appendix, he not only exposes its shortcomings, but makes it so tedious to use that hardly anyone will even try.

The versions of Recs. II and III will interest few but specialists. H.'s text is often better than Chambry's, especially in Rec. II, where Chambry followed too much the badly conflated Cas. H. is right in keeping post-classical Greek such as βουλόμενος ὅτι . . . ὑποδείξῃ (36.ii.5); μὴ ἔχων, πόθεν ἂν . . . ἀπαγγέλλῃ (111.iii.3); perhaps even θέον ἵσθαι ἴσα . . . δηχθῆσομαι (64.ii.5). But it is going rather too far to print impossible Greek such as ἔξῃνος ἂν εἶην, εἰ τὸ ἐν χειρὶ παρὲς κέρδος ἀθληα διώκειν (18.ii.5; cf. 18.iii.6), or scribes' nonsense such as H. mentions on p. x (see 152.ii.1; 259.ii.1). Such eccentricities are due to H.'s notion that these versions were the work of illiterate Byzantine 'rhetores', who spoke 'meram barbarism'. Most of the Greek they wrote shows that they were by no means illiterate. The formidable apparatus of Rec. II does not always agree with Chambry's, but I have not the material to judge between them. The apparatus of Rec. III is both scanty and confusing. H. lists fifty-one codices, equipped with a ghastly collection of *sigla*; he divides them into three large groups—α, β, γ—and generally he is content to refer variants to a whole group,

meaning, apparently, that most of the members of that group read the same. When he does refer to individual codices, he often adds the group-letter to the symbol of the codex, presumably to save the reader from having to search through all the fifty-one items; the result is such notes as αὐτὸν ἐξετινόντες pro οὐκ ἐπιγν. I Vrat. J G(β) Bo¹(α).

S. A. HANDFORD.

DIHLE (A.) *Studien zur griechischen Biographie* [Abh. d. Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 37]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956. Pp. 121. DM 10.80.

This interesting study traces the development and analyses the technique of biography as a Greek literary form. The three main themes which Dihle discusses and exemplifies are: (i) the consideration of an individual's total career and its total significance in the development of biographical writing, (ii) the characterisation of an individual through the simple events of his everyday life and (iii) the Peripatetic systematisation of ethical concepts and terms by means of which individuals were described in and after the Hellenistic period.

The introductory chapter contains judicious remarks on biography as a literary genre, differentiated from both autobiography and encomium. In Chapter ii Dihle discusses the importance of the figure of Socrates in the early development of biographical writing, and seeks to connect the rising interest in biography with a new attitude to individual morality for which Socrates was largely responsible. His life and teachings were inseparably connected, and Plato's portrayal of him, especially in the *Apology*, was essentially biographical in its attempt to vindicate his teachings. One of the weaknesses of the chapter, however, is that Dihle has analysed Plato's *Apology* as a piece of biographical writing without sufficient reference to Plato's other Socratic works: one might have expected a few words, at least, about the *Crito* in this connection, where they would have been highly relevant. Consequently the discussion, although it does consider Plato's purpose in the *Apology*, is unbalanced through being limited by its concentration on this one work, and thus lacks a full philosophical awareness. The same chapter analyses well the methods of other writers, for example Thucydides, Euripides and Xenophon, and there are some particularly nice comparisons between the methods of Plato and Xenophon, although here again the comparisons might have gained in value if certain non-Socratic works of Xenophon, especially the relevant parts of the *Cyropaedia*, had been mentioned.

Chapter iii (*Individuum und Gesellschaft in der Zeit um 400*) deals with the growing political independence of powerful individuals and proceeds to a consideration of the technique of character-drawing as it developed in the fourth century B.C. Chapter iv contains the central thesis of the work, carefully and clearly expounded. It shows how the conceptual foundation

¹² Whence Perry makes the excellent emendation ἀλλ', ὃ τῶν.

of the later Greek biographical technique, as exemplified particularly in Plutarch's *Lives* , was laid under the influence of Peripatetic ethical analysis. The concepts *ἦθος*, *πάθος*, *φύσις*, *πράξις* and the doctrines of moral types and the three types of life (*βίος ἀπολαυστικός*, *πρακτικός* and *θεωρητικός*) are discussed; the relationship between Plutarch's terminology and that of Peripatetic writers is analysed; and the chapter ends with an admirable account of the differences between ancient and modern character-portrayal, which throws light in an interesting way on the details of ancient biographical technique. The fifth chapter is devoted to an analysis of Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*, illustrating the principles outlined in previous chapters, and finally a short account is given in Chapter vi of Satyros and Antigonos of Carystos, the fragments of whose works are discussed in the light of the same principles.

The book is well written and its central thesis is sound. Besides the weaknesses in Chapter ii already mentioned, one notices a lack of documentation: e.g. see especially p. 20, where Dihle claims that archaeology corroborates the growing interest, early in the fourth century B.C., in the personality of Socrates, as shown by sculptural evidence, but passes on without further ado when references, if not elucidation and further discussion, would be desirable.

Misprints are few, but *philosophische* [sic] on p. 36 is reprehensible, and PERIPATOS for PERIPATOS in the chapter-title on the same page ought not to have passed in the final proof. A. J. GOSSAGE.

PLUTARCH. *Moralia*. Ed. C. HUBERT and M. POHLENZ. Vol. V, fasc. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1953. Pp. xli+117. DM 5.40.

This fasciculus contains the *Actia Physica* and *De Primo Frigido* edited by C. Hubert and *De Fario in Orthe Lameae* edited by M. Pohlenz. The editorial standards are similar to those of the rest of vols. v and vi, and the general observations made in *JHS* lxxvi (1956), 117-18 hold also for this fasciculus. Indeed, an interesting feature of v. 3 is an Appendix (pp. 115-17) in which Pohlenz admits the criticisms of Sandbach (*CR* iv [NS], 1954, 249) on vol. vi. fasc. 2; it contains a short discussion of Cod. Venet. x and of certain of its readings which ought to have been mentioned by Pohlenz in vi. 2 but which were omitted.

In the present fasciculus Pohlenz has had a harder task than Hubert; their respective methods of approach are also different. Pohlenz liberally fills existing *lacunae* and others of his own assumption, whereas Hubert is very much more conservative and even cautious. Both produce readable texts, and that of Pohlenz contains a number of interesting things: e.g. 921F *παρτέρετος* for *πάρτετος* (= *πικροθύτος*, cf. Cleom. p. 194.9 *πικροθυμένη* πτλ.); 943A *ποιεῖ δ' ἡ μὲν φύξις <καὶ σώματος μῆτις αἰσθησὶν ἢ δὲ τοῦ καὶ φύξις> σίνεθος λόγον* nulla lac. in EB add. Po. sec. Bern. et Raing. Suggestions for supplementing the text at other *lacunae* are made in the *apparatus*

criticus, e.g. at 930C, 931E-F, 932C, etc. By contrast, one might compare the caution of Hubert, e.g. at 951A, where other suggestions, including that of Pohlenz, for completing a *lacuna* are quoted in the *apparatus*, but the text itself is left with an obelisk. On the other hand, Hubert makes a number of interesting suggestions himself, e.g. 915E *ἀποτιδοσέμενος*, which is supported by references in the *apparatus*. Avoidance of hiatus is again regarded as an important criterion of correctness in many places, e.g. 912B [*ἔδρατα*]? Hu. (hiatus); 919E *τοῦ σίνετος* = *τὸν σίνετος ἀπὸ τοῦ σίνετος*, scil. ἀπὸ τῆς μῆτις (τὴν ἐαυτοῦ), *σίνετος* (hoc uno loco) pro *σινεμένον* hiatus vitandi causa dictum? Hu.; but hiatus is allowed to stand elsewhere, either with or without comment, e.g. 918B *οὐκ ἐὰν ἀποδίδωσθαι*, 924D *μέρη πέντε*, nota *hiatum*!, 928A, 952B *ἐγγενεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος*.

For all the good things of this edition and its improvements on its predecessors, one is still left wondering in many places what Plutarch really did write. A. J. GOSSAGE.

VENTRIS (M.) and CHADWICK (J.) *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. 300 selected Tablets from Knossos Pylos and Mycenae. With introduction, commentary and vocabulary. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. Pp. xxx+452, with 3 plates and 26 text figures. £4 4s. 0d.

No one would hesitate to describe as monumental this edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, which have already achieved world-wide fame owing to the decipherment of the Cretan-Mycenaean tablets in Linear B by Ventris and Chadwick. The present edition meets the need for a general review of the experiment in decipherment, provides in summary form the evidence for the correctness of this decipherment, and adds the chief conclusions about the language of the tablets and the historical lessons to be learnt from the publication of the first texts. It further supplies transcription, interpretation and analysis of a selection of 300 tablets, representative of the several categories, from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae. The selection has been made from among those tablets which provide the fullest texts and the most significant evidence of correct decipherment, or else which tell us most about the life, culture and speech of those who wrote them. The new edition provides many new texts here published for the first time, and many improvements in the transcription, reading and interpretation of those already published. The material is set out in such a way as to serve not only those who are interested primarily in the decipherment, but also those who wish to form a more general opinion on the problem and its implications. The subject is of the greatest importance in that the texts present us with the oldest known Indo-European language and with historical testimony about the most ancient Hellenic civilisation.

Professor A. J. B. Wace, whose researches at Mycenae are well known, writes a preface: his views, which notoriously differ from those advanced by Sir

Arthur Evans, appear to be substantiated by the readings proposed by Ventris and Chadwick. His preface is concerned to show to what extent the historical background as revealed by archaeological research corresponds with that which emerges from the decipherment of the Mycenaean tablets. We are assured that this correspondence is virtually absolute. Hellenic culture is represented as unbroken from the Middle Helladic down to the later Hellenic age.

The first part of the book, after brief mention of Ancient Greek traditions about earliest writing, gives an account of attempts made to discover the contents of the tablets and to decipher them in relation to parallel discoveries in archaeology; description of the preliminary steps which led to the final decipherment, the successive stages of which are followed out in the *Work Notes* of Ventris up till the appearance of the basic communication; and confirmations drawn from readings of new texts and from the work of other researchers. Corroboration of the correctness of the decipherment is seen in the adhesion of an increasing body of scholars to the views of the decipherers; although the latter state quite plainly that many factors still militate against full understanding of the texts.

The next chapter defines the principal systems of Minoan and Mycenaean scripts, the hieroglyphic and the two Linear systems, A and B, and establishes the relationship between them. Theories of the development, by means of fresh adaptation, of Linear B are exposed in detail, and emphasis is laid on the conservatism apparent in this adaptation and development. The canons of orthography are next summarised, and some conclusions are drawn regarding the difficulties which arise from their application. Then follow descriptions of the various types of ideogram, monogram and brachygraphic 'adjunct', and of the arithmetical and metrical signs; and the absolute values of symbols of weight and volume are established. A satisfactory account is given of the parallel but independent development of the Cypriot syllabary and of its survival into classical times; but it is emphasised that this material gave very little help towards the decipherment of the Mycenaean tablets.

Of special interest is the following chapter on the Mycenaean Language, in which this language is claimed to be the forerunner and ancestor of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect: this is in conformity with the theory of the 'squeezing out' of the old dialects by the Dorian invasion. The Mycenaean language would appear to have been written through the medium of a fresh adaptation of the script in which another, non-Hellenic language, the Minoan, had been written. The relationship between the two must be taken into account in restoring the Linear B texts. Moreover the relationship of the former to Greek dialects of historical times is defined. Stress is laid on the unity of the Mycenaean dialect both in place and time, a unity which corresponds to that of the so-called Mycenaean *Koiné* in pottery. There is an illuminating

analysis of the phonology and morphology of the language of the tablets. The latter provides a satisfactorily consistent system of declension, but demonstrates the great difficulties of distinguishing the various forms. Naturally, many gaps remain, since the linguistic material is relatively small and homogeneous. Obscurities are even more numerous in syntax, which, owing to the imperfect manner in which the forms are written, is hard to follow.

Observations on vocabulary justify the recognition in the texts of words from the epic language, of rare poetical words, and of rare words surviving into Hellenistic times, preserved as 'glosses' by the ancient lexicographers; also, certain words are interpreted as deriving from the Semitic culture. Proper names amount to 65 per cent of the total vocabulary, and an explanation is given of how these are distinguished. It is admitted that there can be no guarantee that the majority of them have been read correctly. Especially significant is the analysis of their terminations, many of which are rendered by the same form. The discrimination of gender is often difficult. The authors attempt to justify the supposed occurrence of a host of Homeric names.

A special chapter is devoted to a summary of conclusions drawn from the tablets as here read. Their content is described generally as in conformity with the evidence both of analogous Eastern archives and of the elements of Homeric epic, the origin of which is examined. Certain conclusions are formulated regarding the extent of Mycenaean literacy, and the possibility of a written literature is not excluded. Bureaucratic methods are next described in detail; the types of tablets are distinguished according to shape and content, and the places of their discovery indicated. A capital account is given of the method of calculation used, with its advantages and drawbacks.

The authors believe that sufficient evidence has emerged to enable us to sketch the constitution of society, especially in the Pylos region. A whole hierarchy of ranks is compiled and an attempt is made to define the function of each social group in a society whose feudal character is specially emphasised. The division and differentiation of labour are clear from the multitude of specialised professions, and the role of slaves in production is represented as very considerable. Conclusions follow as to military organisation and defence. The conclusions about religion are particularly bold, both in regard to the purely Hellenic pantheon and to the ritual functions and nature of the priesthood.

The main departments of economic organisation are next discussed, especially agriculture, land tenure, domestic economy, manufacture and commerce: from all of which appears the very high level of the culture and its close contacts with other civilised countries, especially in the East. The rôle of the Palace as the heart of the whole system is very clearly indicated.

The summary of historical conclusions is circum-

spect. The capture of Crete by the Achaeans in the fifteenth century is accepted as certain. As for Pylos, the areas controlled by it, its external relations and the life-span of its empire are all defined. It seems odd, none the less, that there should be no reference to relations with the central Achaean empire of Mycenae. It is plausibly conjectured that the Pylian empire was destroyed by the Dorians.

The review of place names, the conjectural nature of which is admitted, serves to supplement the historical conclusions. Those names occurring in the Knossos tablets are regarded as more trustworthy. In the Pylos series identity, dispersion and subsequent alteration of names create much uncertainty. An important historical conclusion is suggested by the mention of nine cities of the Pylian area and seven others of the 'Pera Chora'.

In the second part of the book the 300 texts are set out in categories (Personnel, Livestock and Agricultural Produce, Land Ownership and Land Use, Tribute and Offerings, Textiles and Furniture, Metals and Military Equipment). The texts are reproduced in syllabic transcription, in translation (but not always), and with notes explaining the principal forms. General observations and conclusions precede each category of texts.

In the third part are included a most useful vocabulary and table of proper names (the table of place names is appended to the section on Geographical Names, pp. 146-50). An up-to-date bibliography on the problem of the Minoan-Mycenaean scripts is subjoined. Despite the fact that neither tables nor bibliography are exhaustive, they will greatly assist future researchers on the Mycenaean texts.

The whole work of arranging the texts and of summarising the conclusions drawn from them as to language, script and social, material, spiritual or religious life in Mycenaean times, has been carried out in a truly exemplary fashion. The reader forms a composite picture of a highly cultured world of which, before the decipherment, he had only the vaguest outlines. This world is so persuasively recreated as to give the impression that the texts have been re-established in their entirety and correctly interpreted. This in turn tends to banish what hesitations may have been felt in fully accepting the views of Ventris and his collaborators. However, when we are dealing with a subject of such serious importance, which yields conclusions fundamental for history itself, we are bound to proceed with all the caution demanded by scholarship, and to avoid basing our conclusions on questionable or hypothetical evidence. The very severe criticism applied by Professor Beattie, even though it goes much too far in dismissing as fortuitous some very striking correspondences seen in recently discovered tablets, is yet very useful in showing how dangerous it is for us to accept as factual texts whose interpretation is imaginary. The authors of *Documents* have admitted

the difficulties in restoring the texts (pp. 26-7), and have shown a commendable prudence in the restoration of some words in them by italicising in the translation such as are no more than probable. Even so, I think that they have not fully represented the hypothetical nature of the majority of the texts and hence of the conclusions based on them. The limitations are, indeed, not only those arising from the nature of the texts as accounting archives, from the difficulty of interpreting some of the ideograms, from ignorance of the phonetic value of some syllables, from the possibility of several alternative readings of the same word owing to loose orthography, from the possible occurrence of prehistoric words in the texts, from the difficulty of interpreting the brachygraphic 'adjuncts' and monograms, or from the conjectural nature of some translations owing to ignorance of the subjects concerned. The authors themselves admit (p. 385) that despite the large number of the tablets (more than 3,500) only about 630 words can be distinguished (not counting, of course, variations of declension or script), out of which in turn only 252 can be related to words known to us from Homeric or classical literature, even allowing for their probable development. But even of this residue the accurate relation is uncertain, owing to the freedom used in their orthography. Dialectical variations of forms, many of which are regarded as co-existing side by side, provide possibilities of readings even in places where the case seems desperate; and wider possibilities still are provided by conjectural homophonies, guesses at meanings of ideograms, monograms and 'adjuncts', completion of defective words by hypothesis or analogy, assumed errors of omission, arbitrarily postulated exceptions to rules, and the like. Of course we are perfectly justified in accepting that the *a priori* classification of the tablets, or their general sense, or analogous content of tablets of the same or related categories, or facts known to us from archaeology, and so on, can help us to a better knowledge of the content of these texts; but we must face the dangers inherent in the search for and discovery of the expected, when such freedom of interpretation is exercised. This freedom, especially in dealing with proper names, gives us an infinite supply of possibilities: indeed, where Homeric names are discovered, one could just as easily identify a host of Byzantine names if one were looking for such.

Again, since many phrases recur in stereotyped fashion through whole series of tablets, and since we have no means of knowing whether any parts of such phrases have been supplied from previous tablets, it is obviously most important for us to know exactly what path the decipherment has followed, in order to avoid the logical error of *petitio principii*, or arguing in a circle. Unfortunately, we cannot follow this progress at all fully in the summary of the subject provided by the decipherers, in which ingenious identifications with far-reaching implications (such as *pa-te, ma-te: πατήρ, μήτηρ*) are not even referred to. I feel, moreover, that it would have been most helpful to have

had a summary of the most convincing correspondences which persuades us that the readings made are correct: the single, special mention of the tripod tablet is not enough.

These comments are not to be taken as implying that the reviewer is not convinced that the phonetic values of the syllables have been correctly restored, or that the texts are in the Greek language. They are intended merely to underline the problematic nature of the sense and significance of many of the texts and to recommend a scholarly caution in putting forward more general conclusions, especially such as conflict with other, plainer evidence based on archaeological findings.

As regards the method of presentation of the 300 texts, it seems to me essential that they should be transcribed into Greek, because otherwise it becomes extremely difficult to follow them accurately. This is the more necessary since the versions of and observations on earlier tablets are not repeated lower down: so that the text of later tablets cannot be understood unless one has followed through the whole series. Nor is it sufficient for a restoration of the text merely to put the translation (which is in any case not always given) alongside it, even for those who possess a knowledge of epic vocabulary and linguistics.

The provision of introductions to each class of tablet, and of special explanatory notes for those tablets which are of exceptional interest, does much to assist their understanding; and we welcome the illustrations drawn from Cretan-Mycenaean archaeology and the epic poems. But, drawing on archaeological publications, the authors have given dates for some groups of tablets which are in my opinion inaccurate. The dating of the hieroglyphic tablets of Malia to MM III is no longer valid, especially since the discovery of new tablets at Phaistos, which confirms a MM II date for the hieroglyphic tablets of Knossos. Contrary to what has been maintained, it seems likely that Linear A did co-exist with Linear B, if one considers that the Minoan centres where the tablets have been found continued to exist until the end of LM II. A very early date (LH III a) is given for the inscribed amphorae from the Cadmeum at Thebes, though their type is not earlier than LH III b; and a very low date (beginning of LH III c) is given for the Pylos tablets, which, to judge from the Palace pottery and frescoes, can hardly come down below LH III b.

The recent work of Furumark establishing the phonetic values of the syllables of Linear A rules out the possibility that the Linear B syllabary was composed on an entirely fresh system of adaptation.

It would be out of place to include in this summary any partial observations on individual readings or conclusions. This would take us very far, and would perhaps serve no purpose unless followed by discussion. But even such partial observations would in no way modify our general conclusion, that the presentation of the Mycenaean texts has been carried out with rare skill and admirable breadth of know-

ledge, so that the result is in a remarkable degree convincing. The excellent and smooth presentation is due to the splendid talent of the authors and to their harmonious collaboration; also, to their decision to avail themselves of the observations and conclusions of many colleagues, some of whom helped to guide them towards the successful decipherment. The Fates have seen fit to cut short the thread of life of the principal researcher, and thus to interrupt the conclusion of his work. But it is our consolation that he had already traversed the chief part of his journey, and that his partner, whom he has left behind to continue his labours, may advance to the struggle with the consciousness of his guiding influence.

N. PLATON.

KLAFFENBACH (G.) Griechische Epigraphik.

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957.
Pp. 107. DM 7.80.

The growing recognition of the value of epigraphical evidence for the study of every aspect of the history and literature of the Greco-Roman world makes it essential that an introduction to Greek epigraphy should be available for students and also for more advanced scholars who, though not aspiring to be epigraphical experts, wish to have a clear and authoritative statement of the scope and methods of that science. Attempts to meet this need were made in Franz's *Elementa* (1840), in S. Reinach's *Traité* (1885), in Larfeld's *Handbuch* (1898-1907) and his *Griechische Epigraphik* (1914), and in Roberts and Gardner's *Introduction* (1887-1905); but these works, which have rendered valuable service, are not only on too large a scale to be suitable for beginners, but are now seriously out of date and are difficult and costly to acquire. More recent are the delightful essay by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Gercke and Norden's *Einführung* i, 9 (1924), and A. Rehm's valuable account in the *Handbuch der Archäologie* i, 182-238 (1939), but the former is too brief and the latter too exclusively archaeological in its approach to be wholly satisfactory. In these circumstances there was an urgent need for a new book, clear, comprehensive and authoritative, yet sufficiently inexpensive to be within the reach of every student. No one was better qualified to meet that need than Professor Klaffenbach. He stands in the front rank of living epigraphists, yet realises the limitations of those to whom his work is primarily addressed; he is a loyal German, yet scrupulously fair in his appreciation of the work of scholars of other nations; his style is clear and concise and the arrangement of his material well ordered.

The opening chapter deals with the definition and significance of epigraphy and the special characteristics and value of the evidence afforded by inscriptions for the thought and speech and life of the ancient world. Chapter II gives an admirable survey of the history of Greek epigraphical study and publication from classical times to the present day, and the following chapter contains a useful biblio-

graphy of the most important publications of inscriptions—*corpora*, selections, and illustrations—in which the *Inscriptiones Graecae* takes a leading, but not disproportionate, part. In Chapter iv we pass to a consideration of the origin of the Greek script and its early development from the creation of the Greek 'Uralphabet' in the early ninth century at latest (p. 35) to the culmination of the process towards the close of the eighth (p. 40). Chapter v discusses the objects, chiefly of stone or metal, on which the documents are inscribed and their relation to the texts which they bear, the methods of engraving and the arrangement of the letters and other signs employed. Chapter vi, by far the longest in the book, deals with the nature and contents of inscriptions, comprising sections devoted to the main classes into which they fall—epitaphs, dedications, honorary inscriptions, sculptors' signatures, emancipations, and, above all, decrees, which receive the fullest examination. The book ends with three short chapters (vii–ix), dealing respectively with the language, the dating and the edition of Greek inscriptions; special attention is paid to the value of squeezes and to the two divergent systems of brackets and other symbols used in printing epigraphical texts. Three indexes—of subjects, Greek words, and persons—enhance the value of the work.

It is usual for a reviewer to call attention to any errors or omissions which he has noticed, but this part of my task I find very difficult owing to the care and accuracy characteristic of all Klaffenbach's work. His proof-reading is exemplary, and I have no doubt that the two trivial typographical errors I have noted ('seine mBuche' on p. 81 and 'jedoch' with an inverted j on p. 95) occurred after the final correction of the proofs. Otherwise I have only one letter to alter—'W. Latyshev' should be 'B. Latyshev' on pp. 17, 106. As the author aims at brevity, I hesitate to suggest additions, but I should welcome in the second edition (which, I doubt not, will soon be called for) a mention on p. 34 of the view advocated by M. Guarducci in her article cited on p. 41, a brief account on p. 49 of the two main numeral systems used by the Greeks, and the addition on p. 88 of a reference to the typically Thessalian manumission-lists. The number and interest of Jewish and Christian inscriptions would justify a short passage in the text, though the bibliographies on pp. 11, 25 include Kaufmann's *Handbuch* and Creaghan and Raubitschek's *Early Christian Epitaphs* as well as the *corpora* of Jewish inscriptions and of Greek-Christian inscriptions of Hellas. The sections entitled 'Literatur' which accompany every chapter (except iii) are carefully selected and the author repeatedly calls attention to fuller bibliographies found in Larfeld's *Griechische Epigraphik* and Hondius' *Saxa loquuntur*. In the interest of English-speaking readers I should like to add on p. 88 W. L. Westermann's *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, and on p. 102 B. D. Meritt's *Epigraphica Attica*. But the restraint exercised by Klaffenbach in the matter of

bibliography deserves commendation rather than criticism, and any deviation from this policy, while increasing the size and cost of the volume, might well have lessened its usefulness.

MARCUS N. TOD.

PECK (W.) *Griechische Vers-Inschriften. Band I, Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1935. Pp. xcix + 695. DM 70.

This collection of metrical grave-inscriptions forms vol. i of a monumental undertaking, which has developed from Dr. Peck's original project, first announced in 1932, of a re-edition of Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca et lapideis collecta*. Vol. ii will contain all epigraphic verses other than funerary—dedications, honorific texts, hymns and oracles, and such material as will not go under any of the above headings—vol. iii the Commentary on i and ii, and vol. iv the Indices. If possible, a volume of plates will be added. A review at this stage therefore must needs be provisional, since questions on the dates, readings and so forth which now suggest themselves to the reader may well be answered in vol. iii.

The *terminus ante quem* is the vic. A.D., and Christian and Jewish texts are included only if they still adhere strongly in form and matter to the Greek tradition. The *terminus post quem* seems to be 'vii–vic.'; only two verses come under this date, and of these one is the famous Epitaph on the tomb of Midas (1171). This is included because P. has not strictly followed the precedent of Kaibel, but has included all epigrams from literary sources which ring true to the ears of the philologist, epigraphist and literary critic as genuine epitaphs rather than literary exercises or conceits: all those, as P. says, which could have been written on stone (see further on 1171 below).

The collection, even though selective, contains over 2,100 examples, which raises a serious problem, inevitable for collections on this scale: what is the best system of classification to adopt? Obviously the contents of the final subdivisions should be in chronological order, but a purely chronological system is impracticable, since in the majority of examples the date is only known, or inferred, within very wide limits. The alphabetical is useless. The geographical (as Kaibel's) has the advantage of showing the reader how the Greeks of one area as compared or contrasted with another worked out their epitaphs for the dead; but a good geographical Index can provide equally well the mechanics for such a survey. Classification by form or metre (as Friedländer and Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*, 1948) loses most of its value in so large a collection; Friedländer's series ended with the Persian Wars. Classification by theme is untrustworthy, for even in so brief a poem as the average epitaph themes cannot always be so sifted and defined as to form a clearly separable set of compartments into which each work can be settled. There remains the literary system, whereby the verses are classified according to the formulae used. P. has adopted this, and surely he is justified. By this

method we can see in detail, e.g., how far formulae were borrowed; what good and bad versifiers made of the same themes and phrases; the date (roughly) when the various formulae were first used; the general development from simplicity to sophistication; how much, or little, of religious belief or impulse can be detected behind the various conventions; and much else. P. groups them first under very general heads, e.g. Introductory ('This is the tomb of . . .'); Informative (details of the deceased person's life and/or death); Direct Address (greeting, advice, warning, etc.), and so on. Below these he subdivides in great detail, but despite the proliferation of sub-titles there must remain for some epigrams an uncertainty as to category, as P. himself admits. For example, I have looked unsuccessfully for the ambiguous *DGE* 272 (*σάρα* of Idameneus, Rhodes) under B I 2, B I 2 b Sondergruppe, and B IV 1 f Sondergruppe; it has some claim on all of these. I have also searched more widely, but the mortal eye is fallible, and only vols. iii-iv can tell me now whether it lurks in yet another group, or has for some reason been omitted altogether.

To each text is added provenance, date, select bibliography and *apparatus criticus*; P. states also whether each inscription was checked by autopsy, squeeze, original photograph, or reproduction in a previous publication. Slips or misprints appear to be commendably few, except in the list of abbreviated titles of works referred to, pp. xxiii-xxix (should one perhaps expect a reference to R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*?).

The value of so comprehensive a work is too obvious to need stressing here. I note only a few minor queries, of which some at least may well be answered by the publication of vol. iii. 38. 'Um 410' (so also Meritt, *Hesp.*, 1947, 147 f.). It may be suggested that, judged by the forms of the Ionic letters (*Hesp.*, pl. 23), this inscription does in fact belong to the campaign of Tanagra in 458-7, as Pausanias said (i. 29, 6); perhaps Makartatos and Melanopos were among the Ionic contingent τῶν ἄλλων σφυμάζων (Thuc. i. 107, 5). 52 (and others). P. is rightly cautious over the dates of the early inscriptions; but even so, I think that 'Anfang vi. Jh.' and 'vi. Jh.' both cover rather too mixed a brood. Apart from 1171 (below), only 1413 makes even a half-move into the viic. It is a waste of space to criticise the suggested dates prematurely, but one cannot forbear to wonder why, for example, 1670 (Selinuntine, from Delphi) is 'um 550-20', but 1671 (Attic, from Paiania) is only 'vi. Jh.'; what is there about the Delphic inscription which enables it to be dated so much more precisely? 59. Should not the revised reading *Αἰδων* (*ΔΕ*, 1920, 56 ff.) be accepted here for the earlier *Ειδων*? 63. Third line boustrophedon as well as stichedon. 137. Though all P.'s descriptions in this volume must necessarily be very brief, it is misleading to call this monument simply a relief. Nor, I think, would many experts in sculpture agree with the date 'Ende vi. Jh.' 143. Though all

editors have taken this Spartan fragment for an epitaph, mainly on the strength of the word *μνήμα*, this seems to me at least uncertain; it might be a memorial of a *σάρα* [*σάρα*] (cf. *μνήμα τόδε ἔς ἀρχῆς*, *IG* i². 761). Dedicatory verses by victors are not uncommon in Laconia at about this period (c. 500 B.C.), but metrical epitaphs on the graves of private citizens are most abnormal. 1171. If this verse has indeed a true lapidary ring (see above; for one reader at least only its first line has, given in the variant versions cited by P. as Nos. 1171a-b), might not *AP* vii. 441 be included also, though obviously it is not by Archilochus as the *AP* says? It is excluded also by Friedlaender (p. 67), but mainly on the grounds of its impossible ascription to Archilochus' period. 1223. Surely end rather than middle of vic.? 1961. Add now to the bibliography the detailed treatment by D. M. Lewis, *BSA* i (1955), 1 ff. 2041. Can this really be an epitaph?

The collection is purposely selective in parts (p. xv); it is only because of the splendidly comprehensive array of archaic examples that I venture to add two extra candidates: *SEG* iv. 44, and (if it is indeed a cenotaph as well as a landmark) *IG* xii. 8, 683 (Addenda).¹

L. H. JEFFERY.

DAVID (M.), GRONINGEN (B. A. VAN) and KIESLING (E.) *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Band III, Heft 1* (P. Aberd.-P.Ryl. 2, 192b). Leiden: Brill, 1956. Pp. 160. 32 guilders.

The very nature of their work and of the material which they handle makes papyrologists more dependent than most classical scholars upon their *Hilfsmittel*. The foundations of these were laid by Friedrich Preisigke, whose lexicographical work alone made the ever accumulating mass of papyrological material manageable; it was carried on after his death by Bilabel and Kiessling, but it is the kind of work which is never complete and never will be as long as papyri are edited and used. Not the least important of his projects was the *Berichtigungsliste*, a list of the corrigenda to documentary papyri necessitated by closer study and fresh discoveries. Preisigke completed the first volume in 1922, Bilabel the second in 1933, but since Bilabel's death the work had been discontinued. Three papyrologists, David, van Groningen and Kiessling, have now edited the first part of a third volume, which covers editions extending alphabetically from P. Aberdeen to P. Ryl. 2 and has been produced by two teams working in Leiden and Marburg on materials gleaned from editions, articles, monographs, reviews, and any other available source, including the suggestions of individuals. This *œuvre de collaboration* contains corrections of letters, words, phrases and datings, new and amended supplements, fresh identifications and interpretations, and references

¹ *Verzeichnis der Gedicht-Anfänge und vergleichende Übersicht zu den Griechischen Vers-Inchriften I* (1957) appeared when this review was already in proof.

to revised editions of individual papyri, with the name of the author of each correction and, where applicable, the publication in which it was first notified.

Despite the care and labour lavished on this work a cautionary word must be addressed to those, not themselves papyrologists, who are likely to use it: the corrections listed are not to be regarded as definitive. This is obvious when, as often, more than one possible correction is cited, but in other cases too examination of a facsimile of the original papyrus leads one to suspect that the new reading ranks rather as a suggestion than as a correction. When doubt as to the reliability of a correction had already been expressed by its author, this doubt has been faithfully recorded by the editors. But papyrologists are not equal in ability or modesty, and it is often those best qualified to make a correction who are also most hesitant to proclaim its infallibility, realising as they do that it is never wholly satisfactory to correct an editor's reading without first inspecting the original papyrus or, at least, a reproduction, and that reproductions differ in quality and sometimes tend to mislead. To suspend all correction until the original or a reproduction had been examined would, clearly, make the production of a volume of the *BL* almost impossible. Nevertheless, those who use such a volume in its present form must beware of treating all its corrections alike as being of equal authority; each correction must be judged on its merits. When this precaution has been taken, the new volume of the *BL*, which is to be completed in 1957 by the second part and the index, will be found to be as indispensable as its predecessors.

B. R. REES.

DAY (J.) and KEYES (C. W.) **Tax Documents from Theadelphia. Papyri of the Second Century A.D.** [Columbia Papyri, Greek series, V.]. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. (London: Oxford University Press.) Pp. xviii + 342, with 2 plates. 80s.

This volume offers transcripts, discussions and commentary on ten texts contained in six tax-rolls, which were written in Theadelphia, Egypt, between A.D. 155 and 175 on the back of similar texts dating from a generation earlier. Keyes copied them and had drafted commentaries before his death in 1943; Day has worked over the entire material and brought the publication to successful completion. In elucidating their sources the editors have shown a dedicated zeal. These dry documents are difficult to read, still more difficult to interpret; they are full of abbreviations, and headings when present are ambiguous. It is a true work of scholarship to establish the diplomatic of the scribes (two plates inspire confidence in the readings) and to lay down a system of interpretation. It is also a fruitful one: from a study of accounting practice the editors are able to deduce administrative principles and rules. Two illustrations may be given: (1) The register 1 V 4 lists bodies of lessees of state land who are grouped

under a first entry enjoying the label $\pi\tau(\)$ and who pay tax dues in kind. These groups are identified as *pittacia* and their characteristics are summed up in an important discussion. The *pittacion* system of organisation seems to have been used in this case for allocating forced leases, and one can see why. It offered the government in the person of the *pittakiarch* an immediately identifiable guarantor for payments by those subletting from him. From this register, therefore, a hitherto scarcely known liturgic pattern of land tenure emerges. (2) By looking for the equivalent of January 1st in our own Income Tax Year, the editors are able to identify acephalous registers and formulate conclusions, not only about the instalments and rates applied to different taxes (including new ones), but also about book-keeping methods. Their results illuminate other texts (and there are many similar ones of this period, some from the same archive, in other papyrus collections). For example, they call attention to the unknown quantities in P. Ryl. 594 (uncertainty as to period covered and choice of taxes listed) which make it hazardous to deduce from it population totals for the village of Karanis. Such analysis is an essential prerequisite for statistical use of these registers. Because of it one may be allowed to dream again the vision of Rostovtzeff and Grenfell of a 'statistical survey' of a small portion of the Roman Empire, a survey that would allow absolute figures of population to be calculated for a given place at different dates, its land holdings to be plotted on a map, the social and family connections of its members to be charted. The dream is not realised in this book, but the sharply focused analyses bring it nearer.

A few points of detail: In 1 V 3 l. 1, reading from the plate I suggest $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$) $\iota\varsigma$, i.e. a round figure to explain the discrepancy between ll. 1 and 8. In 1 V 3 the use of $\delta\epsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}$ = 'the clerk making the entry' can perhaps be paralleled from the employment of undifferentiated $\sigma\omega\iota$ in private accounts (e.g. P. Ryl. 627, 254) for payments made by a steward to his master. In view of the suggestion to explain $\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta(\)$ in 1 V 4, 64 as $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\theta$ (*are*), one wonders whether the θ added above the line to some names in this text (e.g. l. 33) should not be interpreted as *theta nigrum* = 'dead'. This symbol has not so far been identified in Roman Egypt except in military documents (see G. R. Watson, *JRS* xlii (1952), 56 ff.), but there would be nothing surprising in its spreading to civilian book-keeping. On p. 126, l. 173 there is a misprint for $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ().

It is impossible to suppress a grumble at the perverse numeration of the texts, which rivals in awkwardness the early volumes of P. Lond. This book carries the volume serial number P. Col. v; the texts themselves are known as P. Col. 1 verso 1-6 colls. x-y; while their rectos are published in P. Col. ii and are referred to as P. Col. 1 recto 1-6. The Columbia collection is big and important enough to enjoy the dignity of continuous serial numbers.

E. G. TURNER.

CHANTRAINE (P.) *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1956. Pp. 185. Fr. 1800.

Professor Chantraine, best known for his *Formation des noms en grec ancien* (1933) and the more recent *Grammaire Homérique*, has in the last thirty years published numerous articles on problems of Greek word-formation. His new volume unites three separate studies in this interesting field.

The first, based on a paper read to the Linguistic Institute of Paris University, gives a rapid survey of the 'aspects du vocabulaire grec' (pp. 7-29). He discusses the various foreign elements that Greek absorbed in its new home from the first half of the second millennium, and then proceeds to evaluate the role of the Indo-European heritage. The fundamental elements of the vocabulary—basic verbs, kinship-terms, names of parts of the body, of animals, adjectives—are of course IE. More important for the future was the tenacity with which the grammatical tools, especially those of word-formation, including composition, were retained and utilised. By the end of the fifth century, Attic-Ionic fully developed some types that are still of importance for our civilisation, notably such productive series as ποιητής ποιήσας ποιήμα ποιητικός, καθαρίζω καθαριστής καθαρισμός καθαρισμός (cf. Engl. -ize, -ist, -ism). 'La conquête essentielle de l'hellénisme a été la création d'un vocabulaire apte à construire la science et la philosophie' (p. 24).

This general thesis is well illustrated by the detailed study in Part iii of the history of the suffix -ικός (pp. 97-171). It may be surprising to realise that this suffix, so widespread in Classical times, occurs in Homer only in two derivatives of common nouns (παρθενική, ὀρνυτικός), although it is well established in adjectives of the type Ἀχαιικός Πηλεργικός Τρωικός. Even in the tragedians its range is still rather modest—Aesch. has twelve, Soph. nine, Eur. twenty—and the same applies to Hdt. and Thuc. It is only from the end of the fifth century that we get a flood of new formations. In Plato their number rises above 350, of which 250 are new. It is obvious that its fortune was made by the sophists and rhetors who found in it a welcome means of satisfying a growing demand for technical and philosophical terms (cf. Aristophanes' persiflage in *Knights*, 1375-81, and Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.1.6).

What is the function of this suffix? A. Ammann, whose careful dissertation on 'IKOS bei Platon' (1953) is extensively used by Chantraine, concluded (p. 259 f.) that there were three main meanings indicated by the suffix: classification (ὀρνυτικός 'belonging to, from G.'), characterisation (θερμικός = θερμαντικός), and bent or aptitude (θηρευτικός), usually all three being present but one being dominant. Chantraine thinks this unsatisfactory and that there is a 'fonction véritable et unique de suffixe' (p. 149). It is clear, he says (p. 150), that 'la fonction propre' is to mark 'l'appartenance à un groupe dans une classification'—hence primarily from names of peoples and cities, not of individuals.

The view that there must be a basic meaning (cf. p. 160 'les emplois ont varié mais la fonction est toujours restée la même') is in line with views current in the French linguistic school, but seems hardly tenable. If we accept the underlying view that language is a system, then we must also accept the consequence that the system is continuously changing. The Attic of the eleventh century is a very different system from that of the fourth century. It is of no use to diachronic linguistics to introduce the metaphysical distinction that *langue* remained stable but *parole* changed. This is also true of suffixes. We may speak of the 'original meaning' of a suffix, although it is very seldom that we can hope to seize it—perhaps only when it is based on an independent word (Engl. -ship, Germ. -heit, etc.). But who would affirm that the function of French (claire)ment is still that of Lat. mente? The whole system has changed, and with it the function of this suffix. The same applies to -ικός. His unwillingness to admit this forces Chantraine to argue that, since originally we find only derivatives from group-words (Ἀχαιοί: i.e. Ἀχαιικός), Ὀρμικός or Ὀρμητικός of the Classical period are only 'apparent exceptions' (p. 150) although at *Rep.* 600 B ὁδός βίον Ὀρμητική seems in no way different from the Πυθαγόρειος τρόπος τοῦ βίου; for the same reason, Διογενειῶν θέλαρον (Thuc. 8.93) is said to be from τὰ Διογέσια, not Διόγενος (pp. 125, 150), which seems forced.

As to the origin of the suffix, Chantraine emphasises the importance of τηλικός τηλικός ἡλικός and ἡλικία, which suggest that the original meaning was age-group, not simply group. He thinks that this adjectival type is IE (p. 152 f.). But Slavic *tolika* is very different, both in the root-vowel and in the second part. It seems clear that IE had **telli-* 'of this stature, age' (see *Word* 8, 1952, 48; *Glossa* 35, 1956, 99².113²): if Greek secondarily added -ικός, this shows that -ικός had existed before, and thus τηλικός, etc., cannot throw any light on the original state of affairs. The unique ἡλικ cannot justify a variation -k/-ko- (155 f.) of which there is no trace elsewhere; Lat. *senex* is **senek(o)s* rather (cf. *summus*) than *senek-s*, and it may be more fruitful to compare ἡλικος with γυναικος. Since Chantraine repeatedly quotes the equation μεῖραξ: Skt. *maryaka-*, Avest. *maiyāka-*, it should be pointed out that the latter is a different word: *marīyaka-*; OPers. *marīka-* could have been used.

Part ii (pp. 31-96: Vocabulaire de la chasse) is an excellent piece of research in the semantic field of hunting. Chantraine shows how the group of ἄγρᾱ ἄγρᾱς ἄγρᾱς ἄγρᾱς, etc., expressing the notion of 'seizure, catch' was influenced by derivatives and compounds of ἄγρᾱς, and had to compete with the family of θήρ θήρα θηράω, etc., both being doomed to give way to κτηνέτης κτηνικός κτην(ε)ύω, etc., which live even today. Here again, Chantraine is at his best when he analyses, with great sensitivity, the nuances, sometimes very elusive, that differentiate these various terms, and illuminates their interactions.

He is less reliable when he ventures into linguistic prehistory. One case will show this: The words *κρηπίτης* (Mycen. *Kunaketa-*) *κρηπίς*, etc., are derived by Wackernagel (*Kleine Schriften*, ii, 955) and Fränkel (*Nom. agentis*, l. 59, f.) from *ἄρω*, by Meillet (*BSL* 23, 1922, 89 f.) from *ἡρίωναι*. Chantraine compromises (p. 91): *κρηπίτης* must come from *ἥρ-* but *κρηπίς* from *ἄρω*. The new Mycenaean evidence settles the question in favour of *ἄρω*. Myc. *kunāgetā-* is of the same type as the now famous *lāwāgetā-*. Now the latter can only represent a pre-Mycen. contraction from **lāwo-āg-etā*, since a **lāwo-hāgetā-* would still persist in Mycenaean as **lāwo-āgetā-*, with hiatus, as is shown by *katono-aka* = *κτῶνο-(h)οξος*, etc. (cf. *Documents*, 78). It would also have been useful to discuss *κρηπίς* (cf. Engl. lead) and *κρηπίς*, see Latte, *Glossa* 32, 1952, 36 f.; Sommer's full discussion of Aeschylus' *ἑβδόμη κρηπίς*, 'terme difficile', and of *κρηπίς*, in 'Zum Zahlwort', 1951, 10 f., 12¹, has escaped the author. The existence of *-ἡρίωναι* from *ἄρω* made possible the creation of *ἡρίτης* (with *h*!), and even *ἡρίων*, see Bolelli, *ASNS Pisa* 22, 1953, 6¹ with references. It is now also possible to write a more satisfactory account of the successive types *-ἡρίτης*, *-ἡρίς*, *-ἡρίωνος*, as I hope to show elsewhere.

The comparatist and general linguist will thus take exception to much of what Chantraine says; it is also in this field that his familiarity with modern work shows some gaps. But as a guide through the history of Greek he is unrivalled. The three chapters, though only loosely connected, are animated by the same penetrating historical understanding, and effectively prove Chantraine's main thesis (p. 29): 'Entre les multiples aspects du vocabulaire grec, c'est l'aspect intellectuel qu'il faut mettre en lumière, parce qu'il s'accorde avec l'importance de la langue et de la littérature grecques dans l'histoire de la culture, et que c'est par là qu'il exerce sur les langues de l'Europe une influence encore sensible aujourd'hui'.

The book has a full index.

OSWALD SZEMERÉNTI,

WHATMOUGH (J.) **Poetic, Scientific and Other Forms of Discourse.** A new approach to Greek and Latin literature. [Sather Classical Lectures, 29.] Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. (London: Cambridge University Press.) Pp. xi + 285-371. 6d.

This book is in large part a commentary on the author's earlier work entitled *Language*, as well as a record of much of his personal history and many of his opinions on widely diverging subjects. Since expansiveness is of its essence, it would be idle to attempt a summary. Its characteristic theme is the introduction of 'quantification' into the study of language and literature, for, in Whatmough's view, the new techniques of mathematical linguistics provide a link between the older forms of literary study and the now so important sciences of number and measurement. In this way a new and genuine humanism

might be built up, he hopes, to replace those brands which he here examines and finds wanting.

Whatmough seems very conscious that he is an innovator, and perhaps it is for that reason that he tries to shock the reader by strong language about scholars and scholarship, present and past, and by rather high-pitched statements of his hopes for the future. It appears that cybernetics will explain how poetry and prose come to be written, that mechanical devices could write our sonnets, and produce the 'inevitable' word so much admired by earlier generations of critics; that statistical methods will, unlike all preceding forms of criticism, lead to objective solutions of all the linguistic and literary problems that deserve to be raised; and even (*di melius!*) that electronics may one day replace language by a non-linguistic form of symbolism. Similarly, though one may well sympathise with many of his dissatisfactions, his sweeping attacks on the scholarship of the past imply some inability to distinguish friend from foe. It is not true that all 'pure' scholarship is 'fudge', or that all the problems recognised by earlier criticism are 'idle and vapid'. On some of these problems Whatmough himself makes brusque pronouncements, not derived, it is worth noting, from statistics; thinking, for example, that the 'Ionic redaction' of Homer is 'comparable' to modern English renderings of Chaucer, and that the reader of Plato will be helped by hearing that 'Plato said what he meant and meant what he said'. He attacks translators, though they are usually all too conscious of their shortcomings; their attempts are said to be not only inadequate but misleading and 'disabling'; translation itself is 'impossible', though one day (strangely enough) 'a translating machine' may achieve this impossibility. As to commentary and criticism, what they can be at their worst we all know; but even at their best they are, in Whatmough's view, inevitably 'distorting'. Again, classical texts have admittedly been on occasion over-emended because of an insistence on linguistic uniformity; but it is scarcely justifiable to speak of 'our modern corrupted texts', and to denounce the behaviour of their editors as 'criminal'. One suspects that machines—since such is their nature—may allow even less scope for 'anomaly' than the analogists condemned by Whatmough. Emendation, explanation, translation, and the direct method also, are all taboo. There is nothing left for teacher and learner save reading and still more reading. In this way Whatmough 'reads' Catullus with a class of near-beginners in Latin; it is to be hoped that there is some poor wretch in the background surreptitiously teaching the pupils by translation and explanation the bones of the language.

Though the mathematical techniques seem to require that any literary structure must be broken up into discrete units, Whatmough laudably insists that the 'pre-established pattern' is the important thing, so that a work of literature should be 'taken as a whole, not anatomically dissected or interpreted

piecemeal'. Very welcome also is his declaration that 'brains are better than *fiches*'—better therefore, one may infer, than perforated cards. But can one be quite sure that he does not mean brains of the electronic variety? The doubt is symptomatic of the reaction that the book is likely to provoke even in the most sympathetic reader.

J. TATE.

TABACHIOVITZ (D.) *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament*. *Stilstudien* [Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, series in 8°, IV]. Lund: Gleerup, 1956. Pp. 135. Sw. Kr. 20.

The author holds that the wording of the *N.T.* is largely determined by the adoption of Septuagint phraseology. The *Septuagint* (*LXX*) was produced by and for Greek-speaking Jews as a substitute for the Hebrew original; being painstakingly modelled upon it, its language is not properly described as true *Koiné* Greek. The *N.T.* writers adopted it in order to impart to their writings that aura of sanctity which the *LXX* had acquired through being used in the synagogues. The author in consequence is disinclined to trace un-Greek turns of phrase in the *N.T.* to any hypothetical Aramaic (or possibly Hebrew) originals or to 'Semitic habits of thought' on the part of the writers; reference to the *LXX* is his *passé-partout*; at any rate in the present pamphlet.

The value of these tenets depends upon their applicability to detail; hence the bulk of T.'s work (of which, so far, I have summarised the *Einführung*) quite properly consists of comments on individual passages. Detailed indexes enable anyone interested quickly to ascertain whether he may expect to find help in dealing with any particular passage or linguistic question. My impression is that this help will prove solid in some instances and slender in others. I subjoin some instances of either kind.

The addition, to the main verb, of an abundant 'he went' or 'came' (*προεβήκεν, ἔβηκεν*) is a characteristic Semitism. It is frequent in the Gospels, where one will hesitate to trace it to Aramaic originals on considering *LXX* prototypes as close as those quoted by T. (p. 48); e.g. *Ev. Matt.* ii. 23 (Joseph) *ἔβηκεν κατοικήσας ἐκεῖ* — *Ναζαρέθ* and *Gen.* xiii. 18 (Abram) *ἔβηκεν κατοικήσας παρὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Μαύρης*, or *Matt.* xv. 25 (the Canaanite woman) *ἔβηκεν προσκύνει αὐτῷ* and *Gen.* xlii. 6 (Joseph's brothers) *ἔβησαν... προσκύνουν αὐτῷ*. Admittedly there are many *N.T.* instances without parallels as close as these in the *LXX*, but this kind of phrase is in any case so frequent with the *LXX* that it could easily be transferred to any suitable context.

The interpretation of an important passage is helped by another observation of T. (p. 63). The benediction, in *Luke* vi. 20, of the *πτωχοί*, over against *πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι* in *Matt.* v. 3, has given rise to much speculation. According to T., the difference is purely verbal. He cannot indeed quote an exact parallel from the *LXX*, but he does show that the closely similar *ταπεινός τῷ πνεύματι* in *Ps.* xxxiii. 19

is equivalent with mere *ταπεινός* in e.g. *Ps.* xvii. 28 and that the dative *τῷ πνεύματι* is often added to adjectives like *ταπεινός, πτωχός, ὀλιγός*, etc., without affecting the sense.

The meaning of the particle *δεῖπο* is clarified by T., p. 101. Even in good literary Greek it is often used without the locative implication '(come) hither': 'with imperatives and subjunctives it is often no more than a hortative exclamation' (Gow on Theocr. vii. 46; cf. *Eur. Ba.* 341) and this frequently holds good of Biblical Greek too. In *Act* vii. 3, however, *δεῖπο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἥ ἐστίς σου διδῶν* (and similarly *ibid.* 34) it actually means 'go'—and not 'come', as it is usually translated. This is entirely un-Greek and, as T. shows, a *LXX* feature due to the pedantic rendering of a Hebrew imperative 'go!' which served as a general, hortatory particle.

Sometimes, I am afraid, T.'s addiction to one principle of explanation seems to make him reject, on its behalf, what is plausible or even established. E.g. where Jesus, according to *Matt.* xxiii. 26, exhorts the Pharisees 'first to cleanse the inside of the cup', *καθάρσον τὸ ἐντὸς*, *Luke* xi. 41 has *τὰ ἐντὸς ὁρᾷ καθαροὺς*. Wellhausen traced the variant to Aramaic *dakkau* mistaken for *zakku* (indistinguishable in writing) and this brilliant conjecture 'has survived criticism' (M. Black, *An Aramaic approach* . . ., 1946, 2). T. is unlikely to succeed in his attempt (p. 35) to displace it by suggesting that Luke chose to imitate *Prov.* xv. 27a—which is quite different.

Turning to some specifically linguistic points in which readers of this journal may be interested, they will presumably agree with T. (p. 41 f.) that the excessive use, especially by Luke, of *coniunctio periphrastica* (type *ἦν διδάσκων*) is not properly described, with G. Björck, as a feature of 'Greek popular narrative'; it must be related, in some way, to Semitic usage, even though this construction is occasionally found in Greek literature. T. shows from many examples that its frequent use by the *LXX* could commend its application to *N.T.* writers. No particular instance, however, of direct imitation is quoted, and when the odd combination *ἦν ἔγων* (*Matt.* xix. 22, *Mark* x. 22) is held (p. 47) to have been chosen because of the 'solemn sound' generally imparted to this construction by the *LXX*, one hesitates to accept this explanation as final; and this all the more so, since there is not one instance of *ἦν ἔγων* in the *LXX*, even though *ἐγὼ* 'I own' occurs about sixty times. In cases like this, T.'s 'principle that one has to reckon, foremost, with the influence of the *LXX*' (p. 35) must not exclude the consideration of alternatives.

Among these we ought not to rule out the reflection of a live usage tinged the alien Greek with touches of the vernacular, Semitic idiom. The use of the preposition *ἐν* is a case in point. T. (pp. 55-78) has much that is instructive on it; e.g. when he shows, with copious quotations from the *LXX*, that not even an isolated occurrence in Xenophon

(*Hier.* i. 16) establishes the Greek pedigree of the construction *ἐκπαύματος ἐν* in *Acts* vii. 41 or that the instrumental *ἐν ψαλμῷ* (*Luke* xxii. 49, etc.) is modelled upon the *LXX* notwithstanding the occurrence of the same phrase in a few papyri. When T. goes on to trace the origin of outstanding Christian formulae like *ἐν θεῷ*, *ἐν Χριστῷ*, *ἐν πνεύματι* to similar expressions in the *LXX* which (as he assumes) had acquired 'hieratic dignity' in the worship of the synagogue, he is almost imperceptibly putting a live usage in the place of the literary imitation of a scriptural model. Finally, when Paul (I *Cor.* iv. 21) asks whether he is to come to Corinth *ἐν ῥάβδῳ* . . . ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ κατὰ, we actually meet with an expression which, though paralleled in the *LXX*, none the less is live, emphasising speech rather than quotation or imitation.

In some instances T. strengthens the case for the dependence of the *N.T.* upon the *LXX* by pointing to material analogies in addition to verbal ones—without however mentioning the precarious question of 'typological interdependence'. Finally he touches on the great and controversial topics of *δόξα*, *δοξαίς* and 'Son of Man'; but space forbids entering into further detail. It will be seen that T. deals with important problems and will not be consulted without gain. A moderate amount of misprints and of slips in German spelling, grammar and style are unlikely to cause serious trouble (p. 75, line 3 bott. read 440,3 for 400,3).

G. ZUNTZ.

ARNDT (W. F.) and GINGRICH (F. W.) **A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature.** A translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. Pp. xxxvii+909. 105s.

Bauer's *Wörterbuch* has, in its successive editions, for a long time been an indispensable tool of the theologian; many 'Hellenists', no doubt, have likewise long since realised its value for their studies. The present translation is bound to attract the attention of even wider circles, and deservedly so; for, to say it at once, this is a highly successful reproduction of the original; moreover, a number of additional features give it a value of its own, even beside the new, fifth edition of the German 'Bauer' which is in course of publication.

Bauer's work appeared first, in 1924-8, as the 'second' edition of E. Preuschen's *Handwörterbuch*; in fact, though, it was a new work which fully deserved to appear under his name. Its distinguishing feature is the presentation of each word, with ever-increasing fullness, within the context of post-classical ('Koine') Greek and with the indication of relevant literature. B. has, for the purpose, worked through an almost unbelievable range of texts, concentrating especially 'upon such authors and collections of inscriptions

and papyri for which indexes are lacking or incomplete' (some of them not even drawn upon for L-S-J). Nor has he been content merely to quote *loci* or to supply ready-made renderings; his careful attention and scholarly conscientiousness stand out, time and again, in the indication of alternative interpretations, suitable parallels, and helpful comment. Thus he has produced a valuable, and indeed unique, lexicon of Koine-Greek. The nature of his task, though, involves one or two obvious limitations. To appear in B.'s *Wörterbuch*, a Greek word has to occur, at least once, in the *N.T.* or in the 'übrigen urchristlichen Literatur'; i.e. the writings traditionally gathered under the heading 'Apostolic Fathers' (such as e.g. Barnabas, Hermas, *Didache*, Ignatius) or apocryphal *Logia* and *Gospels*. Secondly, B.'s interest centres upon the particular connotation(s) which his words convey in the *urchristliche Literatur*. Hence the range of meaning illustrated is, in many instances, severely narrowed; as can be seen especially in the treatment of words of outstanding theological import, such as *ἀγαπᾶν*, *αἰεσις*, *ἀμαρτία*, *λόγος*. Within these limits, B.'s work gives information which no other lexicon supplies and which any student whose interest in matters Greek is not bounded by the date-line 338 A.C. will neglect to his cost.

A detailed discussion of the original work may be found in *Gnomon*, 1958. The present translation 'constitutes a gift to the English-speaking world of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod', which nobly marked its centenary by deciding upon this worthy project and providing for its execution. The result is a fine volume on good paper, printed with wonderful accuracy and clarity; for, while in the various German editions the printed page witnesses to the striving after economy, the Americans have been able to be generous and thus, by ample use of spacing and alinea, to outshine their model. The translation itself has been done without pedantic literalness yet competently and lucidly; in view of this admirable achievement it may seem niggardly (and yet may be useful) to point out that, in German idiom, 'jüngere Ptolemäerzeit' indicates the 'later', and 'ältere' the 'earlier' period—and not vice versa.

The editors have not confined themselves to the task of conscientious reproduction but have introduced a considerable number of additions and alterations, almost all of them, in my view, improvements. They have included a translation of Bauer's *Einführung* which for reasons of space has been suppressed in all but the first German edition. Here it is given in a revised and enlarged form, the original of which has indeed been published separately before (in Sweden) but is hard to come by. This *Introduction* contains a most instructive summary of B.'s views concerning the Koine in general and *N.T.* Greek in particular, with copious illustrations. In the body of the work small adjustments have been made *passim* and much recent literature—not always of outstanding value—has been added (I venture to observe that a number of articles could have gained

from reference to my book on the *Text of the Epistles*). Occasional comment on English idiom yields, e.g., the welcome information (i.e. δαλέω) that the current yet enigmatic phrase 'to strain at a gnat' may be due to a mere misprint in the *A.V.* (at for out). Finally, the brief *Translators' Preface* contains a list, 'representative though not exhaustive', of 'words in the treatment of which more or less significant adaptations or additions' have been introduced. Most of these are, in my view, indubitable improvements; e.g. when s.v. ὁμαίνω it is argued that in the impressive passage *Es. Jo.* 21.15 f. this word is synonymous with φιλέω, or when the weakened meaning 'together' of ὁμοθυμαδόν is stated to be 'at least possible' in some passages, or when it is recorded that, according to C. D. Buck, the Greek φιλόνεικος-φανόλης is not an 'Italic' (sic: the translation 'Latin' is misleading) loanword, but itself the model of Lat. *paenula*. Lack of space prevents me from specifying the reasons for my hesitations regarding the alterations s.v. ἀναπόμνησις (allegedly meaning 'to adopt'), ἀπειθέω and ἀνυχορροῖζομαι.

Finally, the American editors have included some words not found in Bauer, partly from the fragments of Papias, others from the app. crit. of the *N.T.*, and a few from modern conjecture (here Cobet's *conjectura palmaris* ΗΑΕΙΟΝΑ for ΠΑΕΙΟΝΑ in *Ep. Hebr.* 11.4 deserved a place; for ξάλω, described by T. C. Skeat in *Es. Matt.* 6.8, P. Katz, *JTS* 1954, 207, ought to be quoted; for ἐπὶ ὁράσει see H. Doerrie in *Nachr. Götting. Ges.*, 1955, and *ZNTW*, 1955).

G. ZUNTZ.

MOON (B. E.) **Mycenaean civilization, publications since 1935** [Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 3]. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1957. Pp. xvi+77. 10s.

Librarians are among the unsung back-room boys (and girls) of the learned world; most of us do not notice their efficient lubrication of our own work until for a rare moment it fails and we stumble with a laugh over, say, an entry in an author-catalogue under the name GEWIDMET, A. B. Yet we owe them always much thanks, and not least to those who by compiling bibliographies lighten the researcher's labour in some of its darkest hours. The bibliography under review lists books and articles concerning Mycenaean civilisation published between January 1936 and June 1956. It was undertaken in part requirement for the University of London Diploma in Librarianship. Mycenaean language and epigraphy are excluded, since they are covered by other bibliographies (to which we are directed). Full coverage of Minoan civilisation is not attempted, but much L.M. material is included in so far as it bears on Minoan relations with the Mycenaean mainland. The literature in most European languages has been combed; and it would ill become a reviewer ignorant of Turkish and Russian to complain of their omission.

The main part of the work is the alphabetical

author list, in which the works of each writer are numbered serially. There follows a subject list in two sections, one under general headings (e.g. *General Works, Religion, Pottery*), the other topographical. In these the individual works are quoted by the author and serial number from the main list. The main test of the work must be in the author list; and it stands up very well. This reviewer has not been able to think of any items that ought to be there and are not; but he has found some he was previously unaware of. The subject list is in effect an index to the main list. In it the Mycenaean specialist will find imperfections here and there: e.g. a book on Mycenaean pottery from the Levant occurs under *Asia Minor* but not under *Cyprus or Egypt or Syria and Palestine*. However, the index to a book never is a substitute for the book itself. Had Miss Moon read all the works she lists. . . . The comment would be blatantly unjust: we cannot expect someone to read books for us as well as tell us what to read. This bibliography will surely prove very useful, both to those who are launching into this field of study and to those who have kept but incomplete notes of chapter and verse in the past twenty years' browsing. The layout is clear and easy on the eye; and clerical errors in the reproduction are few. By way of a postscript attention may be drawn to the entry 'WACE 38, St. George the Vampire, *Antiquity* 30, 1956, 156-62, 2 figs. [A Mycenaean cemetery at Kastraki, Argolis]'. If anyone follows up this reference in hope of archaeological enlightenment he will at least be rewarded by a good story.

F. H. STUBBINGS.

FORSYKE (J.) **Greece before Homer**. Ancient chronology and mythology. London: Max Parrish, 1956. Pp. 176; with 3 plates and 1 text figure. 18s. 6d.

The new book by Sir John Forsdyke is a whole-somely sceptical and strident account of some very unreliable and slippery material, and his opening words are that 'the conjecture of Herodotus that Homer lived not more than four hundred years before his own time, that is to say in the last half of the ninth century B.C., is likely to be as near the truth as any'. He agrees also that the reminiscences of the Bronze Age preserved in these poems can hardly have been invented by Homer. 'He must have reproduced them from earlier poems which were contemporary with the events that they described. . . . 'In the Hesiodic and Cyclic poets reverence is giving way to insincerity. . . . 'The sweet voiced Hesiodic Muses have in fact transferred their patronage from the historical content of poetry to its artistic form. The second chapter deals with the Greek chronographers beginning with Eratosthenes, the learned librarian of Alexandria. 'His colleagues called him *Pentathlos*, for obvious reasons, and, more maliciously, *Beta*, because the all-round athlete was not expected to be first in any single

event.' His date for the fall of Troy was 1183 B.C. In the main his early Greek chronology seems to have largely depended on the list of the Spartan kings. On p. 31 Forsdyke gives a useful correlation of Herodotus's list with that given by Pausanias and later authors, and on p. 39 he gives Eratotheneus' regnal years of the Agid kings as preserved by Saint Jerome.

Chapter 3 ('Public Instruction') opens with a list of ancient forgeries preserved in the Temple of Athena at Lindos, quotes the names of twenty-seven successive priests of Poseidon Isthmios at Halicarnassus, and includes a translation of the Parian marble and Castor's list of the Athenian kings. I am not quite certain whether the words 'Minoan drainage system' on p. 58 are to be taken in the literal sense or are a misprint for 'Minyan drainage system'.

The next chapter ('History and Romance') contains a correlation of Chiesia's list of Assyrian kings with some of the more important events in Mesopotamian history, demonstrating how slight are the historical foundations of the former. The author discusses briefly the raid on Egypt of 'the Peoples of the Sea' and possible references to Achaeans in the Hittite archives, but does not mention Ventris's decipherment of Linear Script B (perhaps because he considers this question to be still *sub judice*). 'Mythical Asiatics' has a fairy-tale fascination which I am quite unable to judge dispassionately. I quote some exciting passages: 'The Chimaera was never located in Greece; she lived and died in Anatolia, in oil-bearing or volcanic regions where earth-fires existed. . . . 'Names were regarded as identical if they resembled each other at all in sound; thus the Egyptian Tithaka appears in Greek as Etarchos. . . . 'But Tithonos is a more substantial figure than many characters of the heroic legends, since the resemblance of his name to that of the principal god of Nubia, Didun or Dedun, can hardly be accidental. . . . 'The customs described by Friar William and Herodotus may also be assumed for many tribes among the prehistoric nomads of the Russian Steppes, and if some were Mongols, as is likely, the beardless faces of the men would give additional support to the idea of an army of women. . . . '

Chapter 6 deals briefly but adequately with the additional characters and incidents added to the Homeric legends by Hesiod and the Cyclic poets. 'The name of Iphigeneia', writes Forsdyke, 'was equally appropriate to a princess of mighty birth, as indeed were those of Agamemnon's Homeric daughters, so much so that one may reasonably doubt their reality.' 'Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa celebrate the three prerogatives of Wealth, Jurisdiction and Dominion that belonged particularly to the lords of golden Mycenae and the sceptre of Pelops.' Here I think the author does not allow for the fact that Greek names usually mean something and we should not regard such meanings as necessarily explaining their origin. Philip of

Macedon derived his name from an ancestor, and was not so called because he had fine cavalry and had won the horse race at Olympia, nor did Eleutherios Venizelos derive his Christian name from the fact that he was a great liberal and a champion of Cretan freedom.

Chapter 7 deals with the efforts of the annalists such as Cadmos, Acousilaos (a curious compromise between the Hellenic and Latin methods of spelling that name) and Hecataeus to produce a prose history from the old epic legends.

'Fiction and Fact' discusses the later additions to the epic stories made by dramatists and by writers like Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius.

The probable percentage of truth to fiction is illustrated by parallels with the *Song of Roland* and the *Nibelungenlied*. . . . 'The use of legendary statements for historical interpretations of material records is a reversal of proper procedure. It is not far removed from the ancient practice of constructing archaeological documents to fit the legends and reproduces the credulity without the piety of the Lindian and Theban priests.'

An appendix gives the names with dates of all Greek authors mentioned in the text.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

MATZ (F.) **Kreta, Mykene, Troja.** Die minoische und die homerische Welt. Stuttgart: Gustav Kipper Verlag, 1956. Pp. 281, with 114 plates. DM 24.50.

This fine picture book has excellent large photo illustrations (references for the illustrations and a short bibliography, but no notes), together with an eloquent text by Matz giving a comprehensive survey of Aegean prehistory to the time of the Dorian invasion. There are good accounts of Troy (Part II) and of the Cretan Palaces (Part III), with a superb air view, taken by the Greek Air Force, of the Palace of Minos at Knossos. Page 47: The 'Ölpreste' here presumably refers to the 'Room of the Olive Press', as it was at first called; but the 'presses' were later recognised to be stone drain-heads (PM I, 378). Pages 45, 50: M. suggests that the early Hypogaeum and the later Lustral Basins at Knossos may have been connected with a snake cult. Page 65, pls. 60-1: The faience statuettes from the Temple Repositories M. regards as priestesses, not goddesses, on a theory that true cult images did not appear in Crete till after the Greek conquest in the fifteenth century B.C. Page 71 f: M. accepts the Linear B script as Greek, and thinks it was evolved on the mainland. In his account he makes full use of the contents of the tablets as deciphered. Page 75: M. suggests that the 'winnowing-fans' of the Harvester Vase are really sticks for beating down olives.

The book ends (Part IV) with a good survey of the Mycenaean Age incorporating the published results of the latest excavations at Mycenae and Pylos. Page 121: Note that Blegen (*Hesperia* xxiii (1954), 158 f.) has now identified a tholos tomb near Pylos

that is probably older than the one at Knossos to which M. refers. Page 122: In Crete and Thessaly at least tholos tombs continue to be used and built into the Early Iron Age. Page 90: T. 98, 99 should be 48, 49.

M. S. F. HOOD.

WILLETTS (R. F.) **Aristocratic society in ancient Crete.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. Pp. xv+280. 28s.

In this work Mr. Willetts deals with the social and political organisation of an island which is something of a backwater in Greek historical studies. The kernel of the book is a study of the structure of Dorian Cretan society, involving the tribal organisation and the classes into which the population was divided (free, *apetairoi*, serfs, slaves), the citizen organisations comprising the *agela*, *hetairia* and *andreion*, and the family, with particular reference to matters of property and its transmission (involving a discussion of adoption, heiresses and kindred subjects). The political organisation of the Cretan city-states is then examined, first in the epigraphical sources, then in the literary, and finally in a comparison of the two. There are naturally comparisons with Spartan institutions, and a number of problems are dealt with concerning the nature and powers of magistrates, council and assembly; the treatment being divided into six periods between the mid-seventh and first centuries A.C. Finally an account is given of Cretan history down to the Roman occupation of 67 A.C., which includes a discussion of the Cretan *koinon*, the diplomatic and military relations of the cities with each other and with outside states, and the phenomena of mercenary service and piracy, especially characteristic of Hellenistic Crete.

The evidence available for study is often difficult of interpretation and inadequate (cf. the Malla inscription, 148). The type of document studied imposes a preoccupation with small details of social structure and legal practice which gives an impression of scrappiness which is not the fault of the author. It is tantalising that so many problems of early Crete are so far unresolved: the organisation of the Minoan Cretans and their affinities in social and political institutions with other societies; their relations with the users of Old Achæan Greek and the Linear B script at Knossos and elsewhere; the impact of the Dorians and the conditions they found prevailing on their arrival, especially important if, as a conquering minority, they reduced the existing population to serfdom. How much of the pre-Dorian order remained in later centuries? Then there is the problem of archaic Crete and its relations with the East and with Greece, and the nature of its contribution to Greek culture in the eighth and seventh centuries. All this is still obscure, and the limitations on our knowledge of early Crete are apparent in Part Five of Mr. Willetts's book, when he comes to deal with 'The Wider Context' of Cretan affairs. It is natural to engage in conjecture when

knowledge is scant, but conjecture should be clearly represented as such, which is not always the case in this book. Cf. (250): 'Since the Minoan urbanisation of Crete had been accomplished without the same degree of change in the tribal structure of society as had occurred in Bronze Age Mesopotamia and Egypt, the continuity of Minoan tradition implies the preservation of archaic features which were to remain sufficiently vital to influence Cretan society as it assumed the Hellenic forms which followed upon the troubled period of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age.' A bold assertion supported by authorities as diverse as Pendlebury, George Thomson and Ridgeway. It is equally fair to suggest that other assertions on social and economic developments are a little too assured: e.g., is it always true that the early development of written law was due to commerce (106), or that on the Greek mainland the development of democracy always 'implied economic advance' (149)? These may be trifling, but many assertions, especially on sociological theory, are supported by references to frankly controversial works of other scholars. On the other hand good sense and caution are shown in the examination of important problems such as the nature of 'democratic' institutions in the Hellenistic period and the causes of mercenary service and piracy. In general the closer the author keeps to a discussion of his epigraphical sources in particular, the greater the impression given of careful judgment; and it is the treatment of these sources and the painstaking study of the chief authorities on them which constitute the value of this book. No attempt is made to gloss over obscurities and difficulties of interpretation. A closer examination is perhaps needed of the value of the literary authorities, especially of Plato's *Laws*.

In general this is a valuable contribution to an important subject. There seem to be few misprints of importance: in 234 is 'inner-tribal' a misprint for 'inter-tribal' or a rather odd rendering of *ἐνδο-φυλ* in SIG 560.12?

R. J. HOPPER.

PHILIPPSON (A.) **Die griechischen Landschaften.**

Band II, Teil 1: Der Nordwesten der griechischen Halbinsel, Epirus und der Pindos. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1956. Pp. 290, with folding map. DM. 28.50.

The full-dress description of the geography of Greece progresses. Philippson's work is, as ever, majestic, and the importance of Kirsten's contributions becomes still more evident. 'Band' II covers the west of mainland Greece. The present part, covering Epirus with the Pindus, is unfortunately not complete in itself. The map has numbers, not names; the key to them and to Kirsten's system of references is still to come; and while K. has dealt with the geographical history of Epirus, the appendices touching that of the Pindus are to follow later.

Philippson's acquaintance with the mountain country is well over sixty years old—he fits midway

between the War of Independence and the present day! But the human geography of these parts, like the geology, has seen little change since then (prior at least to the recent communist reign of terror): some uncertain telephone connections between the villages, new strains of pack-animals, a little penetration of the valleys by motor roads. The contrast P. draws between the wretched Greek villages and the more civilised Vlach ones does not now seem so applicable. Instead one remarks the paradox that villages on the steep mountain sides, which are naturally poor and most out of the world, often present the most handsome appearance; many emigrants from these esurient communities have returned home with hard-earned savings, and the steep slopes here (as in W. Arcadia where the *muturoi* of Langadia are celebrated) evoke something of a style of domestic architecture with living-rooms on the upper floor. The contrast, however, between the compact, upstanding villages of the limestone and the scattered hut-dwellings of milder flysch-land like the Radovizi is still a valid one and may reflect social organisation of long standing.

An important anomaly of the geography of the mountain region (though not of Aetolia, where the folds lie crosswise) is the asymmetry of the north-south running limestone ridges. The east flanks are generally bare and scored by deep ravines, but on the west side the limestone is cut away and crumbling flysch-land, parcelled into shelves and little valleys, leads down to the rivers; the top edge of the flysch, as P. observes, is studded with springs and villages. This might have been worth enlarging upon. It seems to explain why so many villages are built on the slopes about the 700 m. level in the mountain regions and why they tend to line the east side of the long valleys. It is equally reflected in communications in the Pindus, where—even in movement across the country—the dominant direction is *along* valleys and crests; the pack-routes lead along the flysch shelves east of the rivers, while on the opposite bank the traveller will often find no regular track below the mountain crest. P. himself traversed this country at the end of a late spring when the rivers were swollen with the melting of the snows. Consequently he emphasises the importance of the Turkish stone arched pack-bridges, which can only span the rivers at narrow: 'hier bestimmt also nicht der Weg die Lage der Brücke sondern umgekehrt.' But, while these bridges help to ensure regular communication, they have not dictated the routes, which must have existed before them and often lead by preference to those broader points where age-old experience has pointed out fords that can be used at almost any time of the year; in fact the small, steep side-torrents, which respond more rapidly to storms, are often worse obstacles to movement in the valleys. Pockets of habitation on the west banks would thus naturally look across the river.

Philippon's journeys were extensive, and with his extraordinary power of comprehension he took in all

that the eye could see. There are occasional gaps in his knowledge: in the Pindus the lacerated north outlier of Tymphrestos is distinguished by some stately villages; a good route leads thence to the Nevropolis through flysch-land which is by no means deserted; and the great discharge of water that he saw in the Achelous bed below the Tatarna bridge certainly does not come (as popular belief has it) from the Lake of Ioannina, but it may perhaps be explained as the issue of a peculiar chain of mountain basins (Pratina, Meligosti, Sakaretsi-Perdikaki) up in the heart of Gavrovo. The potato culture in the Nevropolis (which, like Lasithi, lies at an altitude of nearly 3,000 ft.) is probably subsequent to P.'s visit. Wine is produced here and there in the Achelous valley and much spirit is distilled (especially from the arbutus). On the fauna P. is disappointing; it is perhaps worth remarking that foxes and wild cats may be seen, and not only jackals but occasionally wolves heard at night; boars are elusive, but their incursions are a signal for hunts conducted with hilarity and great danger to the beaters from the indiscriminating discharge of firearms.

Kirsten's sections on the geographical history of the Epirus are stimulating and original. They underline the necessity of knowing a country before studying its history. The concluding paragraph of K.'s first section (p. 240 f.) demonstrates admirably how history has been dominated by geography in the Epirus; and his remarks on the different types of villages (pp. 263 ff.) bears on the problems of habitation through the ages. The Pindus presents a different range of problems, and evidence even for basic assumptions is generally insufficient. With the geographer's eye for main features Philippon holds to some specific identifications—of Mt. Thyamos, for instance, with Gavrovo, and of the Parachelois with the Nevropolis (plain of Mesenikola). But Eurylochus would hardly have penetrated the limestone ridges of the Pindus; a detour in the Makrynoros seems quite sufficient, and the Agraiot evidently controlled this hill-country. In the second case, when Philip V complained of the Thessalian occupation of the (otherwise unknown) Athamanian Parachelois, it is doubtful whether he can have had in mind the little plain of Nevropolis, which directly overhangs Hestiasotis. Its natural lines of communication are northward to the Thessalian plain and southward down the east bank of the Megdova. High mountain barriers shield it on the Athamanian side, and its possession must rather have been the concern of the Dolopes and Thessalians. Further, the name Parachelois suggests a riverain zone, whereas the Nevropolis has no river but is the cradle of an innocent brook. This identification is held to prove the well-known theory on which it depends, that to the ancients the Achelous in its upper course was not the main river (Aspropotamos) but the Megdova. But this is very doubtful. Even if it were legitimate to declare—without regard to the sources of their knowledge—that the early Ionic geographers knew

the upper course of the main river as Inachus, it does not follow that the name Achelous was applied to a lesser arm. None of the tributaries of the Mornos has appropriated the name of the river, although above the Steno the main river bears the name Megas; and if the name Achelous was carried upstream from Aetolia on men's lips it could hardly have deviated from the huge trough and broad flood-bed which distinguish the Aspropotamos from its tributaries. On the other hand, to outsiders the whole drainage system could be known as the Achelous.

The map illustrates the authors' attempt to define the boundaries of the various peoples here. The recognition of natural limits is realistic. But drawing their boundaries from the edges inward as from the known to the unknown, P. and K. have suffered the same difficulty that Woodhouse acknowledged with his Eurytania, and have an inconveniently far-flung Agraiia in the middle; and their boundary between the Agraioi and Athamanes—assuming that these two peoples were contiguous—cuts across the one district that really seems a unity not only in terms of geographical setting and modern habitation but also of ancient remains. This district, the shelf east of the Aspropotamos which contains a regular network of forts and sites described by Woodhouse (extending north to Horingovo-Kedra and Zelenitsa-Prasia) and accompanied by a chain of forts on the opposite bank as far south as Bryantza-Triklinos, should represent a closely organised canton of Hellenistic times. It cannot be Athamania, whose centres lay further north; and it is far from the known habitat of the Agraioi. It seems best to fit with Aperantia (with the name perhaps even surviving in the village of Bryantza). In these primitive regions the ancient pattern is barely legible. Advance can only come from closer archaeological exploration, combined with a yet more intimate understanding of the modern pattern of occupation and the geographical framework. In its application to ancient Greece, it is in setting the stage for such research, in posing the problems as much as in answering them, that the work under review is of outstanding importance.

J. M. COOK.

KIRSTEN (E.) *Die griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes* [Colloquium Geographicum, Band 5]. Bonn: Ferd. Dümmler (for Geographisches Institut), 1956. Pp. 154, with 10 plates and 15 text figures. DM. 8.

This book by a well-known student of historical geography, a pupil and collaborator of Alfred Philippson, has been probably written with the intent of teaching the historian of the Polis some, or rather a great many, geographical facts. I regret to say that at least one ancient historian (whose interest in the Polis has almost become a hobby-horse) is unable to make full use of this very learned book. Unlike his teacher, Prof. Kirsten is not a master of

style, and the book makes heavy going. It is not at all easy for the geographical outsider to cope with those many forms of settlement which Kirsten distinguishes. Others before K. have found out that *Stadstaat* (city-state) is not the right translation for Polis, but an urban centre remains essential, and that fact is practically lost in K.'s jungle of definitions. His revealing assumption that Athens alone among all Poleis was 'a city in the sense of modern (I) developments' shows that his juggling with the various concepts of *Siedlungsgeographie* sometimes leads to mis-statements on history, or at least on what the historians usually regard as history. What is one to think of the description of 'the way from the Polis to the City'? 'Die "Stadt"' (wisely perhaps though none the less perturbingly put between inverted commas) *entsteht durch die Unterdrückung von Poleis*, and this is said to be the meaning of synoecism, although there have been cities (as normally understood) not based on an act of synoecism and, on the other hand, K. must himself admit that the formula does not fit the synoecism of Mantinea and the foundation of Megalopolis. There are other points of history I am inclined to doubt, but to be fair to the book and to a man who has done much for the historical geography of Greece, I wish to emphasise that a good deal can be learnt from the book. While it chiefly deals with the forms of settlement, the rise and the distribution of the Polis in the Greek world, the last chapter proceeds *via* the cities of Magna Graecia and Asia Minor to an interesting summary of Mediterranean urbanisation in Hellenistic and Roman times. The book opens with a warm tribute to the memory of A. Philippson by H. Lehmann, and a full bibliography contributed by Kirsten.

VICTOR EHRENBERG.

BÉZARD (J.) *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*. 2nd ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957. Pp. xii+522, with 6 maps. Fr. 1,800.

The thesis of this book (1st ed., 1941) is the two periods of contact between mainland Greece and the West: the first 'heroic' one, as recorded in epic and later tradition, and the second, the colonial settlement which began about the mid-eighth century, as recorded by ancient historians. While the evidence of archaeology was not neglected in the first edition (a separate volume contains full local bibliographies), the treatment of the subject was based primarily on the literary evidence. But since 1941 excavation has gone ahead fast in Italy and Sicily, and this new edition uses the latest available archaeological material, as well as some of the earlier which is now brought into prominence by recent discoveries; the two important chapters 7 and 12, in particular, are virtually rewritten. Among much else, B. records the new light shed on Pithekoussai, Parthenope, Poseidonia and the Sele sanctuary, Siris, Sirinos, Palinurus, Molpe, Gela and Megara Hyblaea.

Thus, whether readers agree or not with the dates suggested here for events in the Mycenaean period and for some of the colonial settlements, he has succeeded splendidly in what was evidently his main object: to produce for students of ancient Greek colonization in this region a comprehensive and up-to-date handbook, listing the ancient authorities on the subject (Introduction), the literary and archaeological evidence for each colony (Chs. 1-7, reinforced by the 1941 bibliography), and the literary and archaeological evidence—the latter now distinctly stronger than in 1941—for the western Nostoi (Chs. 8-12).

L. H. JEFFERY.

WILL (E.) *Doriens et Ioniens. Essai sur la valeur du critère ethnique appliqué à l'étude de l'histoire et de la civilisation grecques.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 132.] Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1956. Pp. 109. Price not stated.

What Dr. Will calls an essay is mainly a polemical tract, based on serious research and directed generally against the 'racist' historians of Nazi Germany, in particular against the school of thought started over a century ago by a great classical scholar, Carl Otfried Müller, and followed, sometimes almost unconsciously, by many others (mostly, but not only in Germany) who regarded the Greek tribes of the Dorians, Ionians and possibly Aeolians as the essential elements of Greek history. The most surprising fact about this 'school' is that they identified Dorian with Sparta and Ionian with Athens. This is so obviously mistaken that it hardly needs to be contradicted. Dr. Will's passionate, ironical and penetrating essay, however, introduces a whiff of fresh air where it is most needed. The passages he quotes from some of the German writings of the 'thirties and 'forties are sad disclosures indeed of a prostitution of scholarship of which the authors must by now feel deeply ashamed. W. says: *scripta manent*. So they do—to some extent. It was a good thing to show what has been possible; but now it will be best to let all this sink into oblivion. Of how many *scripta* (books or articles) can it really be maintained that they will last? It is, at any rate, more important that W. has made it clear that the use made by modern scholars of the 'ethnic' foundations of Greek history, life and art were not shared by the Greeks themselves, not by Herodotus nor by Thucydides. The examples, e.g. of ethnic pride and prejudice among some of the tyrants, dissolve, when closely examined, into thin air. The Peloponnesian school of sculpture is Dorian only in a geographical sense. Above all, the ideas cherished by some moderns of Dorian discipline and Ionian individualism are simply wrong. It may be that on one or two occasions Dr. Will's statements are too sweeping, but in the main he is simply right.

VICTOR EHRENBERG.

WENTKER (H.) *Sizilien und Athen. Die Begegnung der attischen Macht mit den Westgriechen.* Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1956. Pp. 198. DM. 12.

This book, longer than might appear, for it is very closely printed, is a careful and detailed analysis of the relations between Athens and Sicily between about 478 and 415, together with related problems such as the political developments in Sicily in the fifth century and the conflict between Kerkyra and Corinth in 435:

'Es sollte versucht werden, die verstreuten inschriftlichen und literarischen Zeugnisse über die Verbindungen Athens zu den Westgriechen in einen politischen Zusammenhang zu stellen. Bei der schwierigen Lage des Materials ergaben sich von selbst grundsätzliche Fragen zu der gesellschaftlichen—und damit politischen—Struktur der westlichen Apolken, zu den zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen der kolonialen und mütterländischen Aristokratie, schliesslich zu den inneren Voraussetzungen der Politik der führenden Männer Athens.'

The study has its starting-point in an important judgment of Thucydides (I.e. ii. 65.11 and vi. 1.1—two different judgments in effect? see *JHS* lxxi. 72); with the help of our other evidence the author will clarify the narrative of events in Sicily in iii, iv and vi, a clarification necessary because Thucydides, by his self-imposed limitations in writing his *History* (i. 1.1, 88 ff., 97. 1-2, iii. 90.1), denied himself the opportunity to look closer at western Greece.

Wentker's explanation is, shortly, as follows. The relations between mother-city and colony remained close all over the Greek world at least to the end of the fifth century, undisturbed by commercial political interests; in the Dorian world too undisturbed by any thought of power-politics (except, in Sicily, by the Deinomenids). This close relationship was centred in and was dependent on actual kinship between members of noble families, between, that is, those members who remained in the mother-city and those who settled in the colony. In the colonies these noble families remained as 'original settlers', owning the land which had at the beginning been distributed among them, rigidly separate from any *demoi* that might in certain circumstances grow in numbers, and ruling it, the nobility itself consisting of heads of families (often of course rivals) with their followers who were farmers, *γεωργοί*, also descendants of original families and no part of any *demoi*. Every city in Sicily, Ionian as well as Dorian (as well as those of Italy closely associated, as Rhegion and Lokroi) was, we are repeatedly told, ruled by its nobility throughout this period, even the 'tyrants' of Syracuse and Akragas having, during their brief rule, secured the support of the nobles and their followers and depended on that support (Hdt. vii. 155-6). The story of Kerkyra, Epidaurinos and Corinth in 435-33, illustrates the working of this

παλαιὸς νόμος—Kerkyra being the exception which proves the rule in so far as her nobility had quarrelled with Corinth, but its and Corinth's relations with Epidamnus conform to it closely; for commercial rivalry, such as has been suggested by modern scholars, did not enter into the picture, nor any desire for power—the nobles of Corinth must simply chastise their naughty children of Kerkyra and help their injured grandchildren of Epidamnus. Indeed throughout the Greek world except Athens power-politics were not thought of till the end of the fifth century; it was Athens who disrupted Greek unity by her assertion of power after 479, and the note of this in Thucydides is Themistokles' argument to Sparta when the city-wall had been sufficiently restored, Thuc. i.91.4-7; which means not just 'Athens will be able, in counsel as in action, to serve both her own interests and the common good of all Greece better if she is strong and self-reliant than if she is weak and dependent on others for her defence', but 'have done with your *παλαιὸς νόμος*, with Sparta as beneficent *πολιτεία* of obedient and friendly cities—we are all out for *power*'. And she was soon going to be a democracy, with the *demos* in full control, the Athenian nobility having hitherto wholly accepted 'the ancient rule'. In spite of her success in both these aims, not perhaps surprising in this old-fashioned world, she had her difficulties; in Sicily, for example, though she was careful to send aristocrats like Eurymedon and Phiax (who had little to do with the Athenian *demos*) as generals and ambassadors, yet they could not succeed with the nobility who ruled there, in Katane and Rhegion any more than in Syracuse or Gela.

Unfortunately his general picture, so simple in its outlines, is not supported by the evidence. The exiled nobles of Epidamnus appeal to Kerkyra, pointing to the graves of their ancestors there—in accord with the picture; Epidamnus appeals to Corinth, with a Delphic oracle in support, and Corinth accepts the duty to help—all according to 'ancient custom' (i.25.2-3, 26.3). But it is the *demos* of Epidamnus, which, having driven out the nobles, successfully appeals to Corinth; what tie of kinship or sentiment had the Corinthian families, whose scions had gone in the past to Kerkyra and thence to Epidamnus, with such people? When Corinth plans aid for Epidamnus with new settlers, she proclaims that anyone who wishes may join, and he will enjoy equal shares for all in property and citizenship, and asks for aid from Megara, Epidamnus and others: how are family ties going to help? And she also bears in mind the great power and wealth of Kerkyra (Thuc. i.23.4). Dr. Wentker does not discuss these difficulties; for, whereas the rest of us, when we want to reject the evidence of ancient writers, say 'this is evidently wrong (even Thucydides is not infallible), the truth is obviously as follows', he contents himself, generally, with references to the authorities without a note that they do not support him, or else ignores them. For example,

Hdt. vii.153 ff.: Wentker makes much of Gelon's descent from one of the original settlers of Gela; he mentions the help given by Corinth and Kerkyra to the daughter-city Syracuse in the struggle against Hippokrates; but he does not draw attention to the fact that in the negotiations with Gelon in 480 no word is said of kinship except that of all Greeks, and Sparta and Athens are to the fore, not Corinth, who plays no part. This is easily understood, provided that we do not put Greek history into the strait-jacket of Dr. Wentker's theory. For him, it is the family ties that are important—he thinks that Eurymedon may have been chosen as general in Sicily for this reason, for he was the son of Thoukles, who may have been related to the Chalkis family which, 300 years before, had sent a Thoukles to found Naxos (Thuc. vi.3.1). Not for a moment does Thucydides suggest anything of this kind—anything beyond natural links between Dorian and Dorian, Ionian and Ionian, and mother-city and colony. When Syracuse asked for help from the Peloponnese in 415, Corinth was naturally urgent with Sparta that it be given (Thuc. vi.88.7-10); but there is no reason to suppose that this was the work of nobles anxious about their cousins in the west. Nor is Wentker more persuasive when his authority is Herodotos: his view that only family relationships can explain Athenian and Eretrian help to Miletos in 499 (Hdt. v. 97, 99) is not exactly supported by the historian's own comment on the Athenian action (v. 97.2). The other thing that Wentker repeats often is the continued government by members of the noble families who first settled in Sicily, supported by their followers the *gamoroi*, in every city there; *demokratia* when used of them, means this kind of government; before Diokles in 412 introduced the lot for the election of magistrates (Diod. xiii.34.6), 'konnte von einer Demokratie im attischen Sinn keine Rede sein' (n. 235). It is remarkable that he nowhere even refers to Thuc. vii. 55.2 (cf. vi.20.3-4, viii.96.6), not to vi. 38-39.

It is not that he has not things of interest to say, for example on the wording of IG i². 51, 52, and (relying on dates in Diodoros) that after the defeat of Douketios in 446 the Syracusan oligarchy renewed the expansionist policy of the Deinomenids against both Sikels and the Ionian cities, and that this was checked in 439 by the Athenian alliances with Rhegion and Leontinoi, which he dates to this year 'because at no other time would Perikles' threat to intervene have been effective'. He adds that probably Hermokrates was the leader of this policy—for the following odd reason: that he must have been middle-aged in 424 to have played so prominent a part in the conference at Gela, but could have been a quite youthful leader in 446 just as Dionysios I was when he seized power; and again the hint in Thucydides is ignored (vi. 38.5).

It must be added that the book is extremely difficult to read; to 143 pages of text there are no

fewer than 520 notes added at the end and printed in even smaller type, of all kinds—plain references (though he is sensible enough not to eschew references within his text), additions and after-thoughts, arguments that belong entirely to his text, and a few digressions. How is one supposed to read this sentence (about Lampon)?—

'Da die Symmachien mit Rhégion, Leontinoi, Katane und Naxos Verträge mit Adelstaaten waren⁴²⁴ und die sizilische Situation ihre besondere Problematik besass (vgl. p. 81 f.), mag der in den Verhältnissen des Westens kundige Mann in irgend eine Weise, vielleicht als Gesandter⁴²⁵, vielleicht als *ἀποκριτής*⁴²⁶, mitgewirkt haben⁴²⁷.'

The last note is a suggestion that perhaps Lampon's name is to be restored in l. 28 of *IG* 12. 52. We need too in a detailed argument such as we have in this book some estimate of the value of the evidence of Diodoros and Plutarch, Justin and Polyainos. And, on a different plane, there is no awareness apparent of the growing separation during the fifth century of western Greece from eastern, that was ultimately to be final.

This is a book to be carefully read; but it takes a great effort to find the gold in it.

A. W. GOMME.

LARSEN (J. A. O.) **Representative Government in Greek and Roman History** (Sather Classical Lectures, 28). Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1955. (London: Cambridge University Press.) Pp. vi+249. 30s.

This important book embodies the results of researches carried out over many years. Professor Larsen modestly explains (Preface, v): 'In spite of the length of time devoted to it, the study is, in a sense, incomplete. My preliminary investigations have covered neither the *koina* of Asia Minor nor the western provincial assemblies as thoroughly as the leagues and federal states of Greece proper. The work in the one area largely centres around Lycia; in the other on Gaul. Nevertheless, I hope that no material which would alter the general picture to any extent has been omitted.' It is, indeed, an impressive piece of work, ranging from early Greece through the Hellenistic period to the Late Roman Empire. It is intended for all interested in representative institutions, not merely for classical scholars.

The scope of the book can be indicated by the chapter headings: I. The Problem. II. Early Greek Tribal and Federal States. III. Representation in Greek Permanent Alliances. IV. Adoption of Direct Government in Federal States. V. Introduction of Representative Government in Hellenistic Federal States. VI. Federal States and Commonalties in the Hellenistic Provinces of the Roman Empire. VII. Provincial Assemblies in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. VIII. The Transformed Assemblies of the Late Roman Empire. Since the repre-

sentative principle seems to emerge most clearly in federal institutions of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, Larsen has a good deal to say in general on federal organisations, symmachies and 'commonalties' (*koina*). He writes much also that is of prime importance on the interaction of Hellenistic and Roman practices.

There is no doubt, however, that the most controversial part of Larsen's work lies in his quest for the use of representation in the city-states and federations of Greece before the reality of independence had altogether disappeared, i.e. in the period covered by his Chapters II-V; a mixed problem, since representative institutions have to be considered in single states, in federations (such as the Boeotian, Thessalian and Chalcidian Leagues), which have first to be demonstrated to be such, and in symmachies such as the Peloponnesian, Delian, Second Athenian and Hellenic Leagues. Representative government in a single city-state, concerned with every aspect of public affairs, is a different matter from federal institutions in a closely associated regional group, and in a symmachy such as the four mentioned above, where in each case there was an association with one great Power, and the aims of the association were limited. 'Government' means something different in each case. It is not apparent that Larsen has made this clear, especially when he claims that 'an attempt will be made to show that these Leagues, while theoretically alliances of completely autonomous states tended to develop more and more a machinery of government and to establish control over the members'. 'Control' there certainly was in varying degrees, 'government' in Larsen's sense there was not. Whatever their arrangements for representation (proportionate or otherwise), they are hardly relevant to the problems of representative government in the true sense. Therein they differ from the later Achaean League and from a classical Greek federation such as the Boeotian League (447-386 B.C.).

There is then the question of the city-state. Larsen asserts (66 ff.): 'Representative government, after its promising start in early Greece, received a setback in the fourth and third centuries. Instead, direct government with primary assemblies was adopted also in federal states', i.e. in the Aetolian, Arcadian and Achaean 'Confederacies' (in the Achaean to c. 217 B.C.). The setback may indeed be apparent in comparison with the Boeotian League 447-386 B.C.; it is less easy to demonstrate it in relation to representative government in the city-states, for which Larsen seems to make highly controversial claims, especially for Athens. (a) Is it true (g) that 'representation of demes in proportion to population meant virtually the representation of most elements of the citizen body in proportion to their numbers'? In fact, does representative government ever mean this? Larsen's discussion of this (10 ff.) is well worth close study, but it is doubtful whether prosopographical studies at present in progress will ever clear up this problem. (b) Was the Boule of the Constitution of the Five

Thousand 'authorised to make definitive decisions'? Was it not a parallel to the Boulai of the individual Boeotian cities in the period 447-386 (see *Ox. Hist. (OCT)* xi; *Thuc.* v. 38.2)? (c) The problem of the nature of the 'definitive decisions' taken by a representative Boule also arises. As Larsen puts it 'with such a council functioning, it is clear that all that was needed to create a representative government was to give the council final authority on major issues'—the same problem as in later federal institutions. Did this ever happen by the setting aside of the collective judgment of the Demos and the decisions of the primary assembly? Larsen believes that it did, and in Athens, in a period of transition from the earlier aristocratic concept of government to that of the paramount position of the primary assembly. His evidence is the very fragmentary epigraphical document 10 (2). 114, which with new fragments is studied by H. T. Wade-Gery in *BSA* xxxiii. 113 ff., where it is called 'the charter of the democracy, 410 B.C.'. Whatever the aim of the existing decree, Larsen would refer its regulations, restricting the competence of the Boule, back to 501-500 B.C. and the institution of the Bouletic Oath. Since it seems to forbid the Council final decision on certain fundamental issues (and on some less important), he concludes that prior to its original enactment the Council possessed such powers, and that for a short time after its institution by Cleisthenes it can almost be said that Athens possessed a representative government—representative because drawn proportionately from the demes. The fallacy is, of course, to assume that where definition of the powers of a body such as the Boule includes restrictions of competence, such restrictions indicate a previous possession of such competence. There is the further difficulty of the date of the supposed change: it seems odd that it took place after so short a period. There seems a better case for seeing some form of representative government in the popular Boule of Chios, hitherto (see note 26) perhaps dated too early (see Andrewes, *Probouleusis* 22 n. 2; L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* li (1956) 157 ff.).

It is impossible here to mention the many other important problems connected with the theme of this book, which arise in the text, in the valuable notes, and in the Appendix on Meetings of the Assemblies of the Achaean Confederacy. It is sufficient to say that all students of Ancient History and political institutions will find it most stimulating.

R. J. HOPPER.

LAUFFER (S.) *Abriss der antiken Geschichte*, with contributions by G. FELLNER and F. KLEMM. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1956. Pp. 180, with 3 maps. DM 15.80.

This comparatively slim volume is no less than an account of the whole of ancient history from 1200 B.C. to 395 A.D. In addition two short sections at the end describe *Naturwissenschaft und Technik* (by F. Klemm) and *Musik* (by K. G. Fellerer) in antiquity. The

core of the book is an account of ancient history in note form arranged in two columns per page, divided into sections preceded by bibliographies and very general delineations of the character of the period and its literary, artistic and philosophical activity. It allows the reader to find the leading events, artistic works, etc., of a given period in a very concise form, and may thus prove useful to a teacher preparing a course or a revising student. The compression would give a rather forbidding and confusing impression to a newcomer, and naturally such a book does not aim at instructing the scholar.

The principle of selection in the bibliographies is not clear. If excavation reports are included for the section on early Greece (p. 5), surely Payne's *Naxo-corinthia* should be there. Nor is the bibliography of Alexander (p. 35) the natural place to find Willmowitz's *Aristoteles und Athen*. One general weakness of any such book is that the form does not allow sufficient indication of uncertainty. Hence the book seems much more satisfactory in periods when the evidence is fuller and less equivocal. For example, we find Lycurgus dated 'um 880' with no discussion (7.2.5). The Law of Gortyn is included in 'Aegean 1100-700' (7.1.4) although its date of publication is given and nothing is said of the nature of the code. Perhaps the provision of fixed dates in this early section is unfortunate (e.g. 'um 750 Homer', p. 8.1.8). The Greek colonial dates are inconsistently given either according to the tradition or in round numbers; e.g. p. 8.1.1, 'Tarent um 700', p. 8.2.4, 'um 708 Tarent'. 'Um 600 Posidonia' (8.2.4) is presumably a misprint for 700. The annalists have their way unchallenged in the early Roman history. A false picture of Roman predominance in the *foedus Cassianum* is given (73.2.6); the Valerio-Horatian law that *plebiscita* should have the force of *leges* is accepted, as is the so-called first Samnite War (74.1.6 and 76.1.1).

In a collection of so much material there are, not surprisingly, several statements one would question. Two examples may serve instead of a list. In 446 the Athenian success on Euboea is dated before the abortive Spartan expedition (20.2.3-4); the introduction of *prorogatio imperii* is dated 307 and not 326 (77.1.2). Little important is omitted, though the rise of hoplite warfare and Athens' part in the Theban events of 382 and 379 might have found a place. The rather slight account of ancient music contains the statement 'c. 1150 cult music at Delphi and Delos' for which one would gladly see the evidence.

But in spite of criticisms of various special points the book represents an impressive collection of a great variety of material.

A. J. GRAHAM.

WALLACE (W. P.) *The Euboian League and its Coinage* [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 134]. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1956. Pp. xi+180, with 16 plates. \$5.

The existence of the Euboian League over a period of nearly five hundred years, from the close of the

fifth century B.C. until early imperial times, attracted little attention in antiquity, if we are to judge by the extremely meagre historical sources, and has been almost equally neglected in modern times. This, doubtless, may be due to the fact that the League's periods of real activity were only intermittent and for long phases it may have existed in theory rather than in fact. Yet the survival of a large body of coinage struck in the name of the Euboians over periods which, if not consecutive, obviously cover an appreciable space of time has shown that the League and its issues must at intervals have possessed a considerable local importance. It is to relate the coins to their proper historical background, to fix their dates and to assess the scope of their issue that Professor Wallace has undertaken this monograph. His work, the result of many years of study, certainly shows how a careful and restrained interpretation of coinage may be used to supplement slender historical sources and, from a more purely numismatic view, provide a fairly complete picture of a series of coins both interesting and attractive.

The League's coinage begins with two series of Aeginetic didrachms: the first connected with the League's foundation in 411-10, the second probably related with the Euboian contingent furnished to Lysander in 405. The choice of standard, the Aeginetic which is not otherwise used in Euboea, is clearly political, reflecting changed conditions unfavourable to Athens. Political circumstances, too, evidently dictated the return to the Attic standard for two issues of tetradrachms which must belong to the very beginning of the fourth century, when all Euboea, as Diodoros (xiv, 82) and Xenophon (*Hell.* iv, 2.17) tell us, fought against Sparta at the battle of Corinth (395-4), while Eretria, the probable seat of the federal mint, made a treaty of alliance with Athens in 394-3 (*JG* ii², 16).

Both didrachms and tetradrachms of the Euboian League are far from common and, but for some comparatively recent finds, could be classed as extremely rare. Indeed, the extremely thorough examination of the relevant hoard material as providing the real basis for the classification of this coinage in its proper chronological order is a feature of Wallace's monograph. If the hoards are useful for the League's early issues, they are far more valuable for the later. Of the fifteen hoards or board groups, which Wallace has been able to study, the Eretria hoard of 1937 (now in Athens) and the Karystos hoard of c. 1945 are much the most important. A portion of the latter was acquired by Professor D. M. Robinson, who made it the basis of a study of the later drachms of the Euboian League and classified six successive issues of these at intervals between 367 and 265 B.C. (*A Hoard of silver coins from Carystus, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 124, 1952, pp. 10-11, 35-35, pls. iv-v, 46-74.) Wallace, with a much greater material at his disposal, assigns the same group of issues to the years 340-267 B.C. in a chronological order determined largely on the assess-

ment of the comparative degree of wear exhibited by the coins of these six issues from all the available hoards. His results differ from those of Robinson but would seem to provide a much sounder classification than one based mainly on stylistic considerations and, it must be admitted, on not very convincing political associations for certain of the symbols distinguishing separate issues.

Wallace rightly lays great stress on the accurate assessment of wear through loss of weight to determine the comparative dates of successive issues of coins in cases where hoard material provides sufficient basis for detailed study. This method undoubtedly raises very interesting possibilities, and also certain difficulties. It seems, for instance, a little doubtful whether the theory that a series of coins which is shown to have lost, say, three times as much weight as another has necessarily circulated three times as long; for a lesser degree of wear this may well hold good, but once a coin has endured a considerable degree of use, the process of wear surely becomes accelerated. Also, as Wallace points out, different rates of wear may have to be assumed for large and small coins owing to different shape and size. He also refers to a further complication in the possibility of differences in the composition of metal sufficient to affect the rate of wear.

The weights of the later drachms present a slightly confusing picture. The standard is stated to be Macedonian and should, therefore, have a norm of 3.68 g. Wallace has made the utmost possible use of the Frequency Table, alluding at the same time to a practice among numismatists to permit a certain latitude for their standard weights on either side of the norm established by the Frequency Table. His own results for seven issues, several of which were evidently struck with a considerable degree of care, show a successive series of norms 3.68, 3.82, 3.82, 3.95, 3.95, 3.71, 3.77 g. Only two of these norms are satisfactorily close to that of the standard on which the coins were struck, if an extreme degree of accuracy is to be required. How are the discrepancies to be explained? Possibly, as Wallace suggests, by the use of weights which were too light or too heavy, or of balances which the mint thought were accurate but, in fact, were not. In either case, however, the overall results must give some support to the view that a certain margin should be permitted on either side of the established norm for a given standard. An exact application of the Frequency Table to an individual issue may, however, reveal unexpected variations in the norm, possibly due to temporary imperfections in mint technique.

J. M. F. MAY.

SAMBUKSKY (S.) *The Physical World of the Greeks*. Translated from the Hebrew by M. DAGUT. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. Pp. x+255. 25s.

To attempt an assessment of the Greek scientific achievement in the light of modern knowledge is both

natural and legitimate. Unfortunately, however, those with sufficient knowledge of modern developments are not usually well equipped to handle the tortuous sources of our knowledge of early Greek thought, and the classical scholar has learned to approach with misgivings any new book on this subject by a scientific colleague. About the present work his fears may be allayed: it is far ahead of others in its class. The author, himself a physicist, emphasises from the start the two main dangers of his investigation: (i) the fact that Greek science of the sixth and fifth centuries a.c. is known only at second-hand from sources which probably distort it, (ii) the temptation to project modern ideas back into the minds of the Greeks. How he lives up to this beginning may be judged from two examples. Of atomism (that happy-hunting-ground for superficial comparisons) he writes (p. 106): 'There is no question here of comparing the two theories (ancient and modern) in terms of absolute scientific achievement: such a comparison would obviously be both pointless and unfair. The main purpose of the comparison is rather to estimate the validity of a method as shown in its internal logic and the extent to which it succeeded in developing to the full its basic premisses at a time when scientific evidence was in the main qualitative.' Again he goes out of his way to emphasize the lack of any analogy between the Epicurean swerve and the uncertainty-principle of modern physics (pp. 164 f.).

Admittedly he will not satisfy the most sceptical school of present-day scholarship. He takes it from Aristotle that Thales conjectured a substance 'from which all things come to be, it being conserved', and he accepts the opposites in Anaximander; and indeed such evidence as we have, though not perhaps conclusive, is in favour of both these positions, which were universally held until recently. More doubtful is his acceptance of Anaximenes fr. 2 as 'a sentence which gives his own words' (p. 10), as also his quotation of the fragments of Philolaus with no suggestion that they may not be genuine (p. 30). Yet cautious phrases like 'we are told in Anaximander's name' are a fairer indication of his knowledge and judgment.

While we are on a critical note, a few more dubious points may be mentioned. On p. 32 it is implied that all four elements of the *Timaean* can pass into each other: there is no mention that earth is an exception. There seems to be some confusion when on p. 109 he says that according to the atomists the *cosmos* is infinite, both in time and in extension. If I have understood him rightly, confusion may also be suspected when on p. 198 f. he not only says (correctly) that Heraclitus believed in simultaneous coming to be and perishing in the universe, but also that we should understand in this sense the remarks of Aristotle *De caelo* 279b which speak of an alternate coming to be and perishing of the universe as a whole. Then, (though here I am scarcely qualified to express more than a doubt), I wonder if it is true to say (210 f.) that Plutarch in describing the moon's

revolution actually formulates the law of inertia in its seventeenth-century form. Can this be so when the motion in question is 'natural' motion in the Aristotelian sense?

These small points may be worth considering in a future edition. The book is important and exciting, a well-documented and serious study with many illuminating things to say about the scope and limitations of the Greek scientific achievement, its claim to be the basis of our own patterns of thought and the contrast to those patterns which is nevertheless exhibits in some important respects. Many of these contrasting features, e.g. the teleological principle ('essentially biological and anthropomorphic'), the author attributes to persistence of the biological analogy—the tendency to see the *cosmos* as a living creature and transfer the concepts of biology to physics. Our own science, on the other hand, is busy reducing biology to physics and chemistry. A topic like the Greek lack of interest in technology is handled with a refreshing absence of preconception, and the existence of slavery is found inadequate as an explanation. One may also mention as of special interest the judicious praise accorded to Stoic mathematical achievements in the fields of the continuum and infinity, well supported by the sources and explained by reference to their dynamic conception of the *cosmos*.

But I cannot attempt to do justice to the content of this work. It may safely be put into the hands of students of Greek philosophy, and will greatly add to their enjoyment.

W. K. C. GUTHRIE.

Senofane, Testimonianze e frammenti, a cura di M. UNTERSTEINER. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Pp. cclxxx + 155. L. 4,000.

Although this book is in general well produced and printed, neither editor nor publishers can be accused of pampering the reader. The fragments and testimonia are printed substantially as in Diels-Kranz (whose numbering and pagination are included) and both are accompanied by an Italian translation opposite, as well as by copious footnotes, occupying, frequently, the better part of both pages. There is however no *apparatus criticus* and the occasional departures from D-K's text are not clearly indicated, e.g. on p. 44 Apelt's reading of *MXG* 978b, 14 is adopted, but the fact is only to be discovered by reference to a series of footnotes in another part of the book. A large proportion of the footnotes, concerned with Xenophanes' philosophy, consists of these cross-references to the Introduction, and these are given not by the page but by chapter and footnote; the chapters being numbered only at the head. If the book had to be constructed in this clumsy way, it would have been kind to print it in two volumes.

The notes, which include discussion of textual points, are full and comprehensive, and contain much that is of value, though they are somewhat clotted with superfluous bibliography. Those on the

doxographic material are welcome, and useful to have beside the text. In some of the others the relevance to Xenophanes is slight, as on A.27, where half a page is devoted to the *πρόη κατ' ἐξομίας* of the hexameter in which Xenophanes (as the relevant testimonium tells us) did not indulge.

The substance of U.'s views is to be found in the eight introductory chapters of which the first (occupying 100 pages) deals with the difficult problem of *MXG*, and the remainder with Xenophanes as a religious thinker and philosopher, and with his life and works. All contain much quotation and discussion of work on the subject since Zeller. On his life and works, nothing very new. U. argues in favour of the title *'ἄπρὸ φύσεως'*; against the influence of Parmenides, any close connexion with the Eleatic school, and the doctrine of spherical Being, and finds in Xenophanes an opponent of anthropomorphism rather than of polytheism. For U. Xenophanes is significant chiefly as an early agent in the transformation of mythical into scientific and abstract forms of thought. As a groping initiator of this process he reverts from Homeric anthropomorphism (see esp. pp. cxx ff. on B11 and 12) to the 'pre-Hellenic' conception of the Earth Mother (identified, apparently, with the Winged Oak) which emerges in a new and more abstract form as the 'One God' of B23-26 (compatible, to his still mythical way of thinking, with a plurality of 'Sondergötter'), and as Earth in his physics. God is not for him a spiritual, much less a providential, Being, but *mana*, 'fluido divino', both one and many, in a process of transition to the 'rational' concept of Nous.

In rejecting anachronistic sophistication from this theology, U. deserves approbation even from those who remain sceptical of the schematism of Mythos and Logos. But the relation to a pre-Hellenic Earth deity, though there may be some element of truth here, is supported by some dubious arguments. *κράδην* in B25 is found to contain a reference (instinctively divined by Xenophanes) to *κράδην*, the sacred branch ('impregnato di fluido energetico') of the Cosmic Oak. On p. cxli much is made of the word *'ἄπρὸ φύσεως* in Aristotle *de Caelo* 294a, 22, which even if it is in Aristotle, is still not known to be in Xenophanes; and on p. cccix he finds in *de Anima* 403b, 8-10 very questionable support for the 'fundamental proposition' of Xenophanes, *'γαῖα ἐστὶ πύρρα'*. Elsewhere the concatenation of polysyllabic categories (pampsychism, hylozoism, pan-rationalism, etc.) does not succeed in supplying the lack of concrete evidence: the individual eludes the net of abstractions.

The most remarkable part of the book is the first chapter. Recognising the difficulty of accepting the rest of *MXG* as substantially reliable while dismissing cc. 3-4 as worthless, and unwilling to follow Reinhardt, U. propounds the hypothesis of a post-Theophrastean author of the Megarian school who, regarding Xenophanes as the founder of the Eleatic (and ancestor of the Megarian) school, corrected and restated his doctrine in terms of his own scholastic

logic; thus the framework of c. 3 is Xenophanean but the development Megaric. This is one way of accounting for the singular features of this chapter (including the Theophrastean elements) and in working it out U. displays doggedness and ingenuity. But the attempt to discover and isolate in it most of the Megarian doctrines known to us, e.g. the identification of *τὸ* and *ἀγαθόν*, or of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* (1), and even of their favourite (but surely not peculiar) forms of argument, induces, at a first and second reading, admiration and perplexity rather than conviction. Serious students of *MXG* will no doubt, however, wish to study it more minutely than has been possible to the reviewer.

Despite its faults of excessive ingenuity and over-interpretation, this is the work of a scholar of great erudition, subtlety, and enthusiasm, and those who cannot accept its conclusions may still find in it a useful critical account of recent scholarship.

There are no indices. The bibliography, which disclaims exhaustiveness, covers ten pages. It mentions Leisegang's *RE* article on Logos, but not that on Physis, nor Cook Wilson's notes on the text of *MXG* in *CR* vi and vii. More surprising, in view of the author's approach, is the omission of *Onians' Origins of European Thought*: and not less so, the inclusion of the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

R. MATHEWSON.

RUDBERG (G.) *Platonica Selecta*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1956. Pp. 141. Sw. Kr. 9.75.

This book preserves, in English translations by different hands, a number of articles published mainly in Swedish by the late Professor Rudberg, who died in 1954. His chief interest lies in investigating evidence of Plato's personal relationships and inner development. The first paper considers Plato as the disciple of Socrates; a later article of great importance discusses the *Phaedrus*, and finds its inspiration in the friendship with Dion. R. considers that this dialogue signals a return to literary and rhetorical interest after the beginnings of epistemological and logical study; thus he proposes the order *Theaetetus*, *Phaedrus*, *Parmenides*. 'Plato in the First Person' is a study of the Seventh *Epistle*, with further comparison with Socrates and discussion of the development of Plato's religious outlook; this theme is specifically treated in another article. A short paper compares the two *Symposia*, placing that of Xenophon later than Plato's and also than the *Phaedrus*. An interesting study of 'Atlantis' dwells on resemblances to Syracuse and suggests that Plato has introduced many of his reminiscences of that city. The last article, on 'Plotinus' Conception of Nature', is linked with the Platonic themes by a special emphasis on the metaphor of light.

The book, speculative and hazardous in many of its suggestions, makes available to English students much that is of value.

D. TARRANT.

Plato: Protagoras and Meno. A new translation by W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956. Pp. 157. 2s. 6d.

These two dialogues lend themselves well to joint treatment in a general introduction, which is supplemented by a summary of each work, notes on the characters in the *Protagoras*, and a particularly useful discussion of the geometrical experiment in the *Meno*. The translation is admirable, achieving conversational ease and informality without loss of faithfulness in detail. Touches of characterisation are well preserved, as in the speeches of Prodicus and Hippias (*Prot.* 337-8) and the surly brevities of Anytus (*Men.* 90 ff.).

On the interpretation of the latter part of the *Protagoras*, Professor Guthrie suggests that its aim is to show how near Socrates and Protagoras are to each other in advocating a refined hedonism. He implies that the dialogue makes little or no definite contribution to the story of Plato's development as a thinker. The problem remains. On the *Meno*, he underlines the transition from Socratic views to independent thought under Pythagorean influence. The theory of recollection, though admittedly here subordinate to the main enquiry, might perhaps have been more fully discussed in view of its later bearing upon the doctrine of soul.

The book is an excellent contribution to a valuable series.

D. TARRANT.

XENOPHON. Die sokratischen Schriften Memorabilien, Symposium, Oikonomikos, Apologie, übertragen und herausgegeben von E. Bux. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1956. Pp. 333, with 1 plate. DM 9.80.

This is an acceptable addition to a standard series. We have first a general introduction occupying some thirty pages, then separate introductions of two or three pages to the translations of the various works, some fifteen pages of notes on particular passages, a page of bibliography and an index of proper names. Matters of controversy are in general not discussed—one will not find much help for example with the problem of the composition of the *Memorabilia*—and the edition is clearly intended for those who are not themselves reading the Greek.

The introduction quite rightly rejects the traditional view of Xenophon's portrait of Socrates, according to which Xenophon had no understanding of the greatness of Socrates and was simply acting as a sort of journalist for something quite beyond his comprehension. We now know that while Xenophon gives us only one possible view of Socrates so does every other ancient writer, and the problem for scholarship is not to select pieces of the truth from different authors and put them together into a composite picture, but rather to attempt a more radical reappraisal of each of the separate 'Socrates' in the ancient sources. So far this is excellent. But the particular view of Socrates which Bux goes on to

offer can hardly be considered satisfactory. He sees Socrates as effecting a synthesis between the natural philosophers, who opposed appearance to reality, and the sophists, who supposed that being lies in appearance. For Socrates, we are told, a being that was absolute, not relative or subjective, was to be found within the world of appearance itself. This is to go beyond Aristotle in attributing the Aristotelian view of the world to Aristotle's predecessors, and it offends against the very principles earlier established for an investigation into the problem of the historical Socrates. Once this step has been taken it becomes easy to overstate the importance of Socrates in the history of philosophy, great though this undoubtedly is, as when he is said to have re-established the relation between man and the external world destroyed by those who had gone before him, and in ethics to have rescued the Greek world from grave peril. Such judgments spring surely from modern enthusiasms rather than ancient evidence.

The translation is simple and effective, and seems usually accurate and close to the original. Occasionally interpretation obtrudes, as when in the indictment of Socrates *Adikei Zōopáreō* is translated as *Sokrates treibt Gotteslästerung* (*Mem.* I. i. 1.), and *Ἰπποδίκος ὁ σοφός* becomes simply *der Sophist Prodikos* (*Mem.* II. i. 21). It is interesting to find that the *Symposium* is classed as Xenophon's best work. In note 77 to the *Memorabilia* it is a little unsatisfactory to be told that as books were made of papyrus, which was scarce, books in Greece in the classical period were a very rare and costly possession. This ignores the famous reference to the book of Anaxagoras in Plato's *Apology*, and at least one other reference in Xenophon himself, *Mem.* I. vi. 14.

G. B. KERFERD.

Aristotle. Fragmenta Selecta. Ed. W. D. Ross [Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon]. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. x+160. 18s.

Two useful purposes are served by this 160-page volume: it makes available again a convenient text of the chief, or the most topical, of the Aristotelian fragments, and it provides a companion volume to Vol. XII of the Oxford translation of Aristotle (*Select Fragments*) published by Sir David Ross in 1952. The correspondence between the present volume and *Select Fragments* is not complete, but apart from the differences noted below the contents are identical, and the order of passages is the same.

In the following respects *Fragmenta Selecta* is the fuller: it includes seven passages, and also the section headed *Carmina*, which are not included or referred to in *S.F.*; it includes *in extenso* thirty-six passages, most of them short ones, to which references only are given in *S.F.*; it gives more of the Simplicius passage (at p. 84) than is translated in *S.F.*

In the following respects *Select Fragments* is the fuller: it translates two passages, and gives five references, which are omitted from *F.S.*; it gives the

translation of two passages from Al-Kindi and of one from Al-Dailami to which references only are given in *F.S.*; it translates more of the Boethius passage than is quoted on p. 40 in *F.S.*

Cross-reference therefore from one volume to the other is easy.

The material is divided into the same three sections as in *S.F.*, viz. Dialogues, Logical works, and Philosophical works, with the addition of a fourth section headed *Carmina*. A number of passages have been included which do not appear either in Rose or in Walzer, and some are cited at greater length than by Rose. No attempt has been made to provide a critical text; the citations have been taken from 'the best editions', and the whole *apparatus criticus* consists of fourteen short footnotes (fewer than in *S.F.*). There is not even any indication of the *perpaucae* and *non audaces* emendations which Sir David Ross himself has made; the reader has to discover them empirically. Most of the other footnotes supply identifications either of pronouns or subjects of verbs in the text, or of excerpts quoted by the authors cited. In one footnote (p. 139) we notice some unusual Latin (*sc. additamentum unius uno*), and the heading *Testimonia* four times (pp. 63, 96, 102, 126) stands over a single passage. There are a number of small misprints, which will cause no trouble to the reader, but it is strange that the date of Rose's second edition is twice (pp. x and 149) given as 1831 (which is actually the date of the first three volumes of the Berlin Aristotle), and that in the table giving Rose's numeration of the fragments with the pages on which they are to be found in the present volume, the heading *Trava.*, which is here meaningless, has been repeated from a similar table in the companion volume. None of these errors, however, impairs the value of the book, which is clearly intended as a working instrument for those who are engaged in studying the fragments, and indeed the publication of it is a witness to the increased interest in this department of Aristotelian scholarship. While not itself claiming to effect any substantial advance, it supplies one of the means which will make such advance possible.

A. L. PECK.

BURNIAUX (F.) *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres', 1956. Pp. 677. Price not stated.

This is an excellently written book, stylistically good, as becomes the work of a Frenchman, and made thoroughly interesting in its contents because the author possesses, not only fully adequate learning, but also a sense of humour, a power of producing on occasion epigrammatic turns of phrase, and a deep and unfailing sympathy with Greek thought. The subject is of course the allegorical interpretation of Homer from the earliest known examples down to the sunset of Neoplatonism, i.e. from Theagenes of Rhegion to Proclus.

The plan is simple and good. An introductory chapter (pp. 9-25) sketches what the author calls the

battle over Homer and his emergence in general opinion as an inspired and infallible poet. Three short chapters (pp. 32-77) outline the attitude of the Greeks towards myth, the various methods of interpretation, and the chief available sources (Herakleitos' *Homeric Allegories*, Porphyry, Cornutus, the pseudo-Plutarchean essay on the life and poetry of Homer, the scholia and Eustathios). The next section (pp. 79-245) groups together a number of exegetic methods under the general heading of *Les secrets de l'univers matériel* and deals with the pre-Socratics, pre-Stoic allegories, the Stoics, cosmogonic interpretations (with their inevitable result, the exaltation of Homer as infallible in scientific matters), and 'historical' exegesis, exemplified especially by Palaiphatos. Now follows *La condition humaine*, with chapters on Homeric psychology, as interpreted by his readers, gods who embody good and bad qualities, the attitude of moralists of various schools towards the poet and the lessons, ethical and political, which were extracted from him, and finally the emergence of Odysseus as *un idéal d'humanité*. These matters occupy pp. 249-388. Last and longest is the section (pp. 392-579) on *Les mystères du monde invisible*, that is to say the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic interpretations of some of the principal Homeric myths, and not least of the description in *v* 102-112 of the Cave of the Nymphs on Ithaca and the olive growing beside it. This curious subject is made, as it should be, fascinatingly interesting. There follow some short sections on particular points, a good translation of Porphyry's *de antro Nympharum*, and five elaborate indexes.

Generally the book is accurate in every way, but a few small errors of pen or press should be got rid of when a new edition is put out. On p. 42, n. 45, the reference 'Sapho 1.1', i.e. the first line of the Hymn to Aphrodite, is meaningless. P. 124, the story of Zeus's ill-treatment of Hera and that of her binding in a magic chair by Hephaistos are confused. P. 180, 'Orphic mysteries' are not things to be assumed without proof, at least for early times, and p. 189, Aesch. *Sept.* 859, does not allude to the equation of Apollo with Helios. P. 360 confuses the land of the Kyklopes with the island off it. P. 406, n. 34, misspells the name of Wyttenbach. P. 424, line 7, for *néopythagorisme* read *néoplatonisme*, a ditto-graphy has expelled the true text. P. 500, n. 2, Horace, *C. i.* 28.10, does not allude to *P* 51-60, but to the story mentioned by Iamblichos, *Vit. Pyth.* 63. P. 507, n. 33, the reference to Stobaeus mixes the pagination of two or three editions; it should be i. 445.15 ff. Wachsmuth. P. 529, n. 25, the Armenian version of Philon of Alexandria does not testify to variants in the text of *p* 486, but only to the translator's incompetence. P. 567, Dionysos occupied Delphoi for three, not nine months of the year. P. 602, n. 4, he retains the reading of the one MS., *μη θάνατον*, in the citation of Herakleitos, *de antro Nymph.* 10; how does he justify *μη* when *οδ* seems to be called for? P. 607, *βουρεσις*, *ibid.* 18, is rendered

'filles de la vache', but bees were supposedly bred from a bullock.

H. J. ROSE.

NESTLE (W.) *Griechische Geistesgeschichte von Homer bis Lukian*, in ihrer Entfaltung vom mythischen zum rationalen Denken dargestellt. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1956. Pp. xi + 555. DM. 13.50.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1944. It is a considerable feat to pack so much material into a volume intended for the pocket, albeit a capacious pocket. The strength of the work lies in its weight of erudition, not in any attempt at a synoptic view or any illuminating generalisation. It is close-packed with names, dates, potted history and biography, and lists of topics and opinions marked out by italicised formulae and catchwords. Though, as may shortly appear, Nestle would not agree with this summary, his main theme seems to be the development of philosophy, which took place partly within and partly outside the mythical traditions, and the growth of the special sciences, which subsequently hived off from philosophy in a not dissimilar way. Much of the history of literature, particularly tragedy and new comedy, is included, but not merely so far as it is relevant to Greek ways of thinking; it is not easy to see why Simonides gets more space than Parmenides, or why Anacreon, for example, who gets one and a half lines, should be mentioned at all. These sporadic attempts at exhaustiveness tend to obscure connexions and interactions of thought; indeed these are frequently omitted, so that, for example, the effect of Parmenides on Empedocles and Anaxagoras goes unexplained, and there is no mention of Archelaus's modification of Anaxagoreanism. Some of the connexions which are given are highly tenuous, for example, it is unhelpful to be told that Gorgias on the poet as deceiver is a forerunner of Aristotle on *katharsis*. Too much space is given to highly doubtful instances of modern indebtedness to Greek thought. These are mostly more verbal than real; for example, Driesch's 'entelechy' has in reality almost nothing to do with Aristotle's use of the word. Omissions are, of course, inevitable, but they do not always seem well conceived; Epicureanism is discussed without reference to the 'swerve' as the basis of the doctrine of free-will, and Stoicism is presented without the ideal of the wise man and its significant transformations. The book shows some weakness on the score of sympathetic and humane understanding of the ancient writers, especially those who show some eccentricity; would anyone prefer, for example, the treatment of Aelius Aristides in this book to that by Festugière in *Personal Religion among the Greeks*?

The first twelve chapters are based on the author's *Vom Mythos zum Logos* (1940, 2nd edition 1942) which went no further than the fifth century B.C. In dealing with the earlier period Nestle sometimes appears to be aware that there is no absolute opposition between Greek myth and Greek speculation;

both arise, he says, from 'the divine depths' of the human spirit, and the myths are by no means devoid of rationality. At other times he appears to assume that the talkers about nature 'replaced belief by knowledge' at one fell swoop, and does not allow for the mythical, imaginative, and arbitrary elements which long survived in their thinking. At such times he yields to the tendency to see everything in terms of black and white; he speaks of the 'war' between philosophy and myth, shows little interest in those thinkers in whom myth and philosophy appear to meet (though he mentions their existence, instancing chiefly Pherocides, Heraclitus, Parmenides), and indeed seems to identify myth with any form of religion or philosophy (for example, Plato's recognition of a transcendent category of being), with which, however reasonable, he himself happens to disagree. As for tragedy where genuine thinking may be seen in no abstract and static form but embodied in living concrete situations, impossible to separate out by any form of allegorical interpretation, Nestle seems to find here merely an arid symbolism and a catalogue of problems and opinions, reducible to *muthos logos*. Nevertheless the antithesis between myth and logos is made to serve as a rough and ready connecting link for the later periods also. Here it is even less appropriate, since the conflicts between the philosophies of the time, including that between 'empiricists' and 'dogmatists', did not hinge upon men's attitude towards mythology. The preconceptions which seem to handicap Nestle include the dogma that genuine Greek thought is thoroughly monistic. He therefore excludes Plato, Aristotle and others from the company of genuine Greek thinkers on the ground that they were dualists (he should have said 'pluralists'), and dualism (i.e. the belief that the physical world is not a closed system) is 'in conflict with the highest values of Greek culture' (whatever this verbiage may mean). One is left wondering who the genuine Greek thinkers can possibly be. They will not include Nestle's Heraclitus (Diels B108) or Anaxagoras (B12) or anyone who thought that anything could be 'apart' from everything else.

The following examples may be offered of statements which are mistaken or highly questionable. The often exploded error that Plato asserts the existence of an evil world-soul in *Laos* x is repeated, with a reference to the passage which refutes it. Nestle declares that Socrates had neglected his religious duties, and the evidence to the contrary is not mentioned; the reference given is *Euthyphro* 14e, but this seems merely to show that, as appears elsewhere also, Nestle has no conception of religious sacrifice save as exemplifying the *do ut des* principle. There is a curiously baseless statement that Metrodorus of Lampascus taught the parallelism between the structure of the state and that of the body and its members, like Menenius Agrippa in Livy ii. 32. It is supposed that Philolaus' belief in the transmigration of souls was the reason for his advising against suicide; Nestle therefore seems to be unaware that

in Plato's *Lysis* transmigration appears as a consideration in favour of self-destruction in certain circumstances. Nestle gives two translations of *νομίζω* (*theōō*): in the indictment of Socrates it is 'honour', and in Diopithes' decree it is 'believe in the existence of'. These cannot both be right, and in fact the former has been proved wrong. The need for brevity does not justify such attempts to combine incompatibles. A similar comprehensiveness may be seen in the treatment of Pindar *Ol.* ii, which is simply juxtaposed with the other religious utterances of Pindar as if they all hung comfortably together; and also in the 'theodicy' ascribed to Aeschylus which excludes mention of the *Prometheus* save for a rather misleading reference to 'the harmony of Zeus' (553). We are told that Anaxagoras identified *νοῦς* with Zeus and art with Athena; but it is of his followers that this is said (*Diels* ii, p. 50). Herodotus iii. 33 is very inadequate evidence for proving that this historian was acquainted with Hippocrates *On the Sacred Disease*. The aphorism 'best not to be born' (*Theognis*, etc., Greene, *Moira*, p. 42) is stated to have its origin in the Orphic belief in a divine pre-existence of the soul, from which birth is a falling away; this seems entirely fanciful and improbable. The notion that Plato, *Lysis* x, on the aberrations of 'our younger men' is a direct reference to Protagoras is clearly untenable. The statement that Prodicus's view of the gods as names for useful commodities implied 'a kind of fetishism' as a primitive stage of religion shows a misunderstanding of fetishism, and is one of a number of indications that Nestle is not well informed in matters of comparative religion.

In a final chapter Nestle continues in outline the history of thought from the second century A.D. to the present day. It would be tempting to analyse the view of myth and history which is here implied, but perhaps it is more relevant to conclude by suggesting that there is something strange in the judgment which assigns more space to Lucian than to Plato, and by explaining that one purpose of this review is to indicate in various ways what it is.

J. TATE.

NILSSON (M. P.) **The Dionysiac mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman age.** [Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, series in 8°, V.] Lund: Gleerup, 1957. Pp. viii+150. Sw. Kr. 30.

This veteran scholar has written from time to time valuable articles on the Dionysiac mysteries of later antiquity. He now assembles them and renders into English those which were not already in that language, adding corrections and fresh material here and there. The result is a valuable treatise on a subject open to many misunderstandings by reason of the lack of good literary evidence and the standing difficulty of reaching anything like certainty concerning the meaning of uninscribed paintings and other monuments.

The titles of the ten chapters into which the book is

divided are as follows, in their English form: Introduction, The Hellenistic Age, The Liknon, Dionysos Liknites, The Greek Lands in the Roman Age, The Bacchic Mysteries in Italy, *Appendix*: on a Relief in the Carl Mies Collection, The Child in the Bacchic Mysteries, The Afterlife, Orphic and Pythagorean Influences, Conclusion. The first and last are very short, the one briefly explaining the structure of the work, the other summarising results. I now sketch the contents of the rest. Chap. II outlines what is known of Hellenistic orgia in honour of Dionysos, emphasising among other things the important point that both men and women took part in them, with some exceptions, whereas in classical times women only celebrated the rites (I think this a little exaggerated; the *Bacchae* of Euripides, which Nilsson (p. 8) quotes in support of his views, does indeed assign the ritual mostly to women, but shows us Kadmos and Teiresias preparing to take some part in the worship). A good deal of the space is naturally taken up with a short but critical account of the notorious affair of 186 B.C. A good minor point is made on p. 20; although Servius's statement (on *Ecl.* v. 29) that Julius Caesar brought the rites of 'Liber Pater' into Rome is false, it may be that he favoured the new Bacchic mysteries which were becoming popular in his day. Chapter III attacks the thorny problem of the *liknon* and solves it with the author's usual common sense. It being an agricultural implement used for its proper purpose of winnowing grain on but a few days of the year, it naturally was put to other uses also, from cradling a baby to holding fruits, etc., intended for sacrifice. In itself it was in no wise sacred, although it became so in Hellenistic times and indeed is a common symbol of Dionysiac ritual in the art of those days. This leads up naturally to Chap. IV. Dionysos is given the rare epithet of *Liknites* but three times in surviving literature. What we are told of him leads, properly interpreted, to the conclusion that the associated ritual was not an (annual) awakening of him with the spring vegetation, but his revival from the dead, i.e. after his murder (as Zagreus) by the Titans, at the *trietrika*. Chapter V deals with the organisation (relatively very elaborate) of Dionysiac associations in Greek countries in Hellenistic times, and leads up to the longer account (pp. 66-106) of the mysteries in Italy, with an interesting discussion of the frescoes of the Villa Ippoliti and some associated works of art for their central feature. The 'appendix' wrestles with the remarkable monuments in which at first sight one god seems to be making sacrifice to another, sometimes an inferior one (Dionysos to Priapos!). Chapter VII discusses the frequent occurrence of children in scenes of Dionysiac initiations. The myths concerning the childhood of the god are not a complete explanation; some at least are human children being initiated at a tender age to secure the god's protection for them in the other world (p. 115). Chapter VIII discusses the after life, including Dionysos's (secondary) connexion with the dead. Together with other matters of

interest, Nilsson suggests that the woman with the whip in the Villa Ippolito frescoes is Dike, and appears as one of the terrible figures which we know from a few sources appeared in Dionysiac mysteries. Chapter IX includes a brief account of the cosmic egg. Chapter X concludes that these mysteries were popular mostly among the well-to-do who did not take their religion too seriously.

Besides one or two trifling misprints and an occasional confusion of 'left' and 'right' in descriptions of paintings and reliefs, I note a small slip on p. 124. Pindar (*Ol.* ii. 59-60) does not say that Necessity is a judge in the lower world, but that 'there is one . . . that judgeth, delivering the strict account in the bitter terms of Doom' (Farnell).

H. J. ROSE.

JONES (J. W.) **The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks.** An Introduction. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. x+327. 42s.

Perhaps it is ungracious to criticise an author for not writing a different kind of book. Yet, in spite of what Mr. Jones says in his too modest Preface, I think his book would have gained by being focused more exclusively on the classical law of Athens. The closer he keeps to the substantive rules of law that obtained in the Athens of the orators, the sharper are his outlines and the more stimulating his conclusions. And these very qualities lead me to regret not only the lack of completeness and of system in the book as a whole, but also the space devoted to the rather nebulous discussions on Dike, Themis and Nomos, on Law and Nature, on *Eunomia*, *Homonoia* and *Isonomia*, which take up three of the first four chapters of the book. Although these chapters show the acute observation and wide reading of the author, they do not add a great deal to what is already accessible to students of the general theory of law whom he is addressing, and there is quite a serious danger that a reader who wishes to bite hard on matter of fact will give up before he reaches those chapters where by contrast we have a jurist's skilled analysis of various topics of the substantive law, for the most part the law of fourth-century Athens. And this would be the reader's loss.

Indeed, if it is legitimate to separate the jurist from the historian in Mr. Jones, he is clearly happier in the former than the latter role. It is an unfortunate result of his approach, panoramic both in space and time, that one is often left with the uneasy feeling that the historian's sheet-anchor, chronology, is dragging. For example, in the treatment of *Homonoia* the legislation attributed to Lycurgus of Sparta is called in evidence; yet we are left in the dark first as to what date Mr. Jones would himself assign to that legislation ('generally ascribed to the first part of the ninth century', but also reputed to be contemporary with Thaletas of Crete), and secondly whether *this* date is quite unimportant and all that matters is what subsequent generations thought about Lycurgus (p. 78). Again it is difficult to be sure of the precise

significance which Mr. Jones attaches to Solon in the legal history of Athens. On p. 95 his legislation 'by depriving the nobility of practically all its secular and most of its sacral privileges ruled out for the future in Athens the possibility of a separation, still more a conflict between State and Church'; yet on p. 98 it seems to be Cleisthenes who is doing this very same thing; and earlier on p. 91 n. 7 Mr. Jones goes along with Mr. Hignett in doubting the Solonian origin of the right of *δ βουλευόμενος* to prosecute. When an attempt is made to fix down the origin of an institution the criterion is sometimes almost naïve: thus on p. 137 a Solonian dating is based on the words *καλεῖται Σόλων* in the *Ἀλέξανδρος Πυρροῦ*; or on p. 265 the equating of 'causing a murder' with murder itself is ascribed to 'some stage early enough for it to be put by Demosthenes among the laws of Draco'.

It may appear an historian's pedantry to single out such points for criticism. But they are symptomatic of a lack of focus which blurs the outlines of some parts of the book. If I have stressed them, it is because I feel so strongly that when he uses the right lens, as for example in his treatment of such topics as Ownership and Possession, or Contract, or Marriage, Mr. Jones's picture gains immeasurably in scientific usefulness.

The proof reading has not been impeccable. For example, on p. 236 line 5 'transfer of possession' has become 'transfer or possession', on p. 234 n. 1 'mud' has become 'mind'. And surely in n. 1 on p. 236 the last words of the note (which is concerned with the word *ἐπιθήκη*) should read 'the noun is not found *in this sense* in the time of the orators'.

A. R. W. HARRISON.

KAROUZOU (S.) **The Amasis Painter.** Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xii+46, with 44 plates. 75s.

This charming monograph was originally designed to form part of the series *Bilder Griechische Vasen* produced by the same editors before the war, which prevented its appearance in that form. It has been expanded for the new series, but still resembles the old rather than the more heavyweight Oxford Monographs: Desborough's *Protohistoric Pottery*, Beazley's *Etruscan Vase-Painting* and Jacobsthal's *Greek Pins*. The Amasis Painter—the vase-painter who worked with the potter Amasis and may perhaps have been identical with him—is one of the most technically brilliant of Athenian vase-painters in the heyday of the black-figure style around the middle of the sixth century. As a decorator he is unsurpassed, and Mrs. Karouzou is at pains to show that in his later phase at least he is something more. Most of his best work is well illustrated, with a good selection of his less important pieces, so that a clear idea of his development and the range of his achievement is given, alike in plates and text. Mrs. Karouzou has a definite and convincing conception of his development. She places his earliest work, by its relation to

the earliest surviving Panathenaic amphorae, before the middle of the sixth century; his latest, by comparison with early red-figure and the friezes of the Siphnian Treasury, to the mid-twenties. Writing a good many years ago, Beazley spoke of the late neck-amphora in Boston with the struggle for the tripod as 'influenced by the new style of Euphronios and his companions' (*ABS* 31), and it is possible that the painter's whole career should be shifted down a decade or two. The list of works attributed is based on Beazley's earlier lists, but a concordance with *ABV* is given, and a list of addenda from it. The most important of these are a group of nine very early lekythoi, including the New York loom-vase, which Mrs. Karouzou illustrates and discusses in an appendix. In another she discusses the occurrence in seventh-century Athenian vase-painting of 'metope-decoration', whose revival in the mid-sixth she is inclined to attribute to the Amasis Painter. How completely, though, had it really died out? Horse-head and horseman amphorae and other related one-piece amphorae and olpae surely straddle the first half of the century. In another appendix, and in the text, Mrs. Karouzou deals sensibly with the unnecessary theory that the foreign name Amasis implies a foreign origin. The style of the Amasis Painter at any rate is purely Athenian, but Mrs. Karouzou does not refer to Exekias's possibly significant habit of labelling negroes in his pictures Amasis. Without committing herself she seems inclined to believe that the Amasis painter was Amasis himself. One further point should perhaps be considered in this connexion. The Amasis Painter is fond of drawing vases: kantharoi constantly, several oenochoae (pl. 3, 29, 39), on the Würzburg vase (pl. 29) also a hydria, and on the splendid Samos fragment (pl. 30) a large column-krater with figured decoration. The signatures of the potter Amasis occur on three neck-amphorae of special shape, one cup, and four oenochoae of two different types. Neither of these resembles any of the three types shown in the painter's pictures, nor are there any vases decorated by the painter which conform to any pictures of vases in his work. The hydria he draws does resemble the special type decorated by the Affected and Elbows Out, painters whose style is related to that of the Amasis Painter; but the column-krater is so oddly rendered as to suggest that the painter was not in the habit of designing vases. Mrs. Karouzou's suggestion that the Amasis Painter's use of outline (found also in the works of other contemporary painters, especially on Little Master and related cups) can be regarded as a step towards red-figure, is fair enough, but she is wrong, surely, in speaking (e.g. on p. 22) as though he actually used the red-figure technique. An example which she does not mention, the panther-mask at the base of the handle on the London chariot-jug, comes nearest to it, being completely surrounded by black, but even here the outline is drawn within the black background, while the essential character of red-figure is determined by the

way the edge of the black background itself forms the contour of the figure. Her general assessment and appreciation of the painter, however, are admirable.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

BROMMER (F.) *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*. Herakles, Theseus, Aigeus, Erechtheus, Erichthonios, Kekrops, Kodros, Perseus, Bellerophon, Meleager, Peleus. Marburg/Lahn: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1956. Pp. xvi+190. DM 19.60.

The title accurately describes the contents. Here are the bare lists of vases with representations of myths involving Herakles, Theseus and some lesser lights iconographically. The patient and observant collecting which such a work entails has been the author's occupation, or at least hobby, for some years and from time to time he has published monographs on individual subjects with full comment and discussion. Here is no discussion, only the occasional aside on reasons for inclusion or omission, yet the very inclusion of many items shows that he has made up his mind on points of interpretation which have puzzled others. The work is incomplete, and necessarily so. Many vases cited by nineteenth-century scholars have been lost to sight in private collections or museum reserves, and there are many newer finds still unpublished. The author asks for additions to his lists, so we may hope in time for a more definitive corpus of both these and other scenes. Perhaps by that time a more uniform arrangement of the vases in each list might be found and separate headings given for the early representations and individual non-Attic vase-fabrics. If also one day representations on objects other than vases were to be added many an incipient doctoral thesis could be nipped in the bud.

Brommer is rightly economical in references, but seldom inadequate. I list below some minor addenda and corrigenda. *Herakles and Athena*: add Oxford 1925, 622 (r.f. calyx crater, *CV4* i, pl. 39.7); cf. Oxford 1911, 627 (*ibid.* pl. 49.5) and similar scenes; restriction of the items to two-figure groups seems rather meaningless. *H. and Busiris*: add a fragment in Oxford from Euesperides (an appropriate source!; r.f., Pan Painter). *H. and the Tripod-fight*: add Athens *Acr.* 430 (*ARV* 42.111); B28 is *RM* lviii (1943), 179, fig. 1, pl. 13. *H. and Hebe*: see *BSA* xlvii (1952), 34 n. 219. *H. and Helios*: A4 is Oxford 1934, 371. *H. and the Lion*: the Tegea aryballos (p. 83) has a possible lion, not a bull. *H. and the Sea-creature*: Buschor in *Meerwesen* fairly distinguishes the Nereus and Triton scenes, and is followed by Beazley in *ABV*; p. 89, the Maidstone fragment has Nereus as monster, not man; add *Perachora* ii. Nos. 105, 413 (*LPC*). *H. and Nessos*: add ? *Perachora* ii. No. 176 (*MPC*). *Bellerophon*: add ? *Perachora* ii. No. 2268 (*EC* plaque). *Undefined Boar-hunts*: add Oxford G.114.43 (Chian Naukratite); ? Old Smyrna 134 (*r.f. pelike*). *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*: add Athens

12076 (*BCH* liv (1930), pl. 23, *BSA* xlvii (1952), pl. 9c; Eretrian b.f. amphora); many other wedding processions with divine attendants may be so interpreted, *ibid.* 34 f. D. von Bothmer gives detailed additions to the lists in *AJA* lxxi (1957), 103-10.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

CLARK (K.) **The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art.**

London: John Murray, 1956. Pp. xxiii+408, with 298 illustrations. 63s.

Anyone concerned with Greek art must read this book. The author questions his qualifications for writing so much on that part of his theme, but the result more than justifies the attempt to look at European art as a whole, from its Greek beginnings to the revolutions of our time. He says that the pages on classical art are peppered with 'heresies, some intentional, some, no doubt, due to ignorance'. To some of the former (always interesting, often welcome) I shall return; on trivial mistakes it would be easy but idle to fault him: Gauricus (11) is not an ancient writer; the fourth-century vase-painter Kamiros (85) is a cousin of the Quattrocento Master, Bambino Vispo; and so on—but what matter? The immense worth of the work lies mainly in the author's combination of sensitivity to individual works of art with a grasp of the nature of artistic tradition, both quite exceptional; and also in the fact that he can express these things. Sir Kenneth Clark is a writer; would there were more. In another sentence of his Preface he speaks sadly, or perhaps crossly, of 'professional writers on classical archaeology microscopically re-examining their scanty evidence', and we can hardly rebut the charge, though we may remember that the world of renaissance art-criticism too has its hair-splitting side. In both too many scholars write almost exclusively for (and against) one another. Sir Kenneth, however, is now the leading writer of that more humane and most difficult scholarship which makes true learning palatable to the unlearned. He is a populariser in a sense in which we must all aspire to earn the name; and it is fitting that the book is dedicated to the doyen of that tradition, Bernard Berenson.

In the first chapter, *The Naked and the Nude*, the author develops his theme, after defining his terms: 'To be naked is to be deprived of one's clothes and the word implies some . . . embarrassment . . . The word nude . . . carries, in educated usage, no uncomfortable overtones. The vague image it projects into the mind is not of a huddled and defenceless body, but of a balanced, prosperous and confident body; the body re-formed.' In a recent poem, under the same title as this chapter, Robert Graves has expressed the opposite view: for him the naked stands as far from the nude 'As love from lies, or truth from art'. Many will find Graves's reaction the more natural to the two words in common speech, but Sir Kenneth's is acceptable in its context. The key to the contradiction lies perhaps in the last words of Graves's line.

Truth and art are a monstrous opposition: the artist is concerned with nothing if not with truth; but the way he expresses it is not the way of the world, and that is a great part of this book's theme. 'The nude is not the subject of art, but a form of art'; is, in fact, 'an art-form invented by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C.' (3). The author qualifies this conclusion as 'too abrupt', but it is surely, as he believes, essentially true. His book is primarily concerned to trace the dominion, however modified, throughout antiquity and from their re-creation in the Renaissance almost to the present day, of certain ideal forms and attitudes of naked humanity in art, bred in fifth- and fourth-century Greece by mathematics out of bodily pride. The book is thus almost confined by its subject to the art of Europe, though that of India, partly stemming as it does from Greece, is occasionally cited.

The six main chapters—*Apollo, Venus* (I and II), *Energy, Pathos and Ecstasy*—give each a facet of this story, all showing 'how the naked body has been given memorable shapes by the wish to communicate certain ideas or states of feeling' (335). *Apollo* and *Venus* treat the ideal naked body in repose (not in action, that is), primarily as a symbol or embodiment of divine authority or beauty. With archaic Greek art, where naked *Venus* is unknown and *Apollo* is 'clear and ideal' but not yet 'beautiful', the author is not much concerned, but his brief sketch contains a timely refutation of the curious error which sees development in this period as purely, or even primarily, a struggle to achieve naturalism. With the Kritian boy, 'the first beautiful nude in art' (29), we reach his true theme, and the first of a series of beautiful evocations and interpretations of actual works. A few pages on we come to the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, and the first of the astonishingly no less successful realisations of lost masterpieces known to us only in copies of varying indifference. The author spoke in his Preface of the difficulty of understanding 'why it was that for four hundred years artists and amateurs shed tears of admiration before works which arouse no tremor of emotion in us'. To help us do so is part of the intention of this book—a worthy task, whose achievement enlarges simultaneously our appreciation of ancient and of renaissance art. He does achieve it, not only with such comparatively tractable material as the Doryphoros, but even with Cnidian, which of all such works seems the most irredeemably corrupted by the copyists.

The chapters on *Venus* are longer and more complex than that on *Apollo*, for though born later into art she lived there longer: Michelangelo is the last supreme Apolline, while *Venus* found one of her most gifted votaries as late as Renoir. The author takes the old idea of the two Venuses, *Coelestis* and *Naturalis*, as valid no less in art than in philosophy, though they mingle and fuse; but I have no space to follow him closely through these chapters, in some ways the richest and most satisfying in the book. In the next three the author isolates certain embodi-

ments of action and suffering which, discovered by the Greeks, left their mark on later ages: *Energy*, the athlete and the hero; *Pathos*, the Niobids, Melager, Marsyas, Laocoon; *Ecstasy*, the routs of Dionysus and the Nereids. In all these he shows how certain formal motives once created reappear again and again: for pathos, for instance, the arm stretched up and bent sharply over the head thrown back; for energy, what the author calls the 'heroic diagonal'—'a figure striding forward, one leg bent, the other forming a straight continuous line with his back' (133). He compares this, illuminatingly, with the Greek profile, and shows how the artists of the renaissance broke it into new forms. The themes of all the chapters, each starting as a way of evoking the half-lost art of Greece, lead into the appreciation of particular renaissance and post-renaissance artists; but the pleasure of pursuing these would lead too far outside my space and the concerns of this Journal. The book, however, must be read as a whole. Apart from the compelling unity of theme, the author has an almost conversational way of modifying statements already made, perhaps because the book was originally a course of lectures. Thus the sweeping condemnation of Hellenistic art in *Apollo* (43) is much softened in *Venus* (83 ff.), and in *Pathos* we reach a splendid appreciation of the Laocoon (with incidentally an excellent caveat against the cult of fragmentation). Similarly, though Michelangelo gets good measure in *Apollo* and *Energy*, it is in *Pathos* and *Ecstasy* that the author's understanding of him makes itself most deeply felt.

Two further chapters follow. The principal point of *The Alternative Convention* is to show how, when the frequent representation of naked bodies was reintroduced into Christian art in the thirteenth century (after its virtual disappearance in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages), Gothic artists found themselves forced to evolve a new ideal. The nude they created is often called 'naturalistic', a description which the author is sometimes inclined to reject (18), sometimes to accept (331); but he demonstrates clearly that, however closely it may be based on observation, it is strictly idealised in accordance with the same abstract sense of design as inspired contemporary architectural form, just as is the classic nude in its Greek and renaissance manifestations. Its creation emphasises the necessarily ideal character of the nude, and so is significant for the development of the author's theme; apart from its historical importance, leaving as it does a lasting impress on the post-renaissance tradition.

The last chapter, 'The Nude as an End in Itself' carries the whole enquiry deeper. Here the author considers the recurrent idea that the body can be given a shape that is good in itself. He begins with the Ilissus and the Dionysus (Theseus) of the Parthenon, which, he says, 'do not express particular ideas' yet are 'two of the greatest pieces of sculpture in existence' and 'represent formal discoveries as valid as the formulations of a philosophic truth' (335). He notes their astonishing re-creation by Michelangelo

and Raphael, who can have known only the most muffled echoes of them; considers other examples of nude types which seem likewise perennially satisfying while linked to no particular idea; traces the transfer of interest, which begins in the early sixteenth century, from the male to the more readily simplified forms of the female nude; and glances down into the deeper causes that lead us to feel satisfaction in establishing a relation between bodily and geometric form. From there he passes to the renaissance concept of the independent importance of the nude as a basic discipline, parallel to that of mathematical perspective; and to the corruption of that concept into the academic tyranny of antique room and life class—the morgue in which the corpse of Apollo is laid by the eighteenth century, that of Venus by the twentieth. He ends with the revolutionary attempts to release the nude from its academic bondage by three twentieth-century artists, Matisse, Picasso and Moore. Only the last, he feels, successfully achieves it, because only in his work has the necessary metamorphosis of form taken place in the unconscious, and not by deliberate trial and elimination. He cunningly illustrates two of Moore's finest figures which manifestly render once more, but in the idiom of our time, the basic ideas of the Parthenon statues with which he started.

The choice of works for discussion (and almost everything discussed is well illustrated) is throughout so sensitive that for all the necessary selectivity one is rarely irked by an omission. Two possible cases strike me. The author has constantly to refer to lost Greek painting and its echoes on the house-walls of Rome and the Campanian cities. Of these he only illustrates (not for their quality) two poor works. There is one splendid nude from Herculaneum, the Theseus triumphant, which must give us some faint notion of a fourth-century masterpiece, and if not in the text it might have been worth illustrating (like the Alpheus of Olympia) in a note. At the other end, where I really have no business, I miss Scurat's *Poseuses*. Cézanne's *Baigneuses* gets only a parenthetical word, but the other's absence seems more curious, with its echoes of the Spinario and the *Baigneuse de Valpinçon*, and beyond that its re-creation of classicality out of the stuff of the life class.

A few points of detail. 44 and note on 366 f., Apollo Belvedere: I am not sure about the 'fundamentally un-Greek' character of the head and hair. Elsewhere (e.g. 86 ff.) the author's observation of Oriental infiltrations into Hellenistic art, paving the way for late antique developments, seems to me illuminating. 50, 'only once', in his St. Sebastian, Boticelli achieves 'a satisfactory nude in repose': what of the London Mars?—one of the loveliest variations on the 'Parthenon Dionysus' theme; I could believe that a Roman or Etruscan sarcophagus-lid lies somewhere in the genesis of this picture. 50, Piero della Francesca and antiquity: do not the three angels of the London Baptism, in their grouping and the hand laid on the shoulder, show a deliberate

reminiscence of the Three Graces?—the hands clasped low, which they share with Botticelli's version, are foreign to the ancient scheme, but might have occurred in some contemporary restoration or variant. Such an adaptation would be a deeply individual way of using an ancient theme, but that one might expect. 67, date of the Esquiline Venus (and of the Spinario, 367 note on 49): from a quite different approach Miss Richter too now holds these to be creations of the early fifth century. It seems impertinent to resist so formidable a pincer movement, but I am not convinced. I am one with Sir Kenneth's contention that no nude should or could be deprived of all erotic implication, but in the contrast between the Venus's charming young body and the archaic severity of her face I feel a deliberate piquancy that seems to me rather of the 1st than of the 5th century. (I should add my private heresy, that the pretty bronze girl in Munich (71) is likewise a classicising Hellenistic work.) The Spinario is I feel of similar character; and while it is true that both that and the Idolino (35 and note on 363) are finer bronzes than most from Herculaneum and Pompeii, that does not rule out their being of similar date and genesis with those. The Spinario's immense and deserved popularity perhaps points the same way, earned as it is, like that of the Three Graces or the Cupid and Psyche kissing, by a combination of charm with cunning formal composition. 215 f. and note on 384: I can easily see these clumsy Niobids as copies, but not after the Olympia master. Though the Alpheus cannot be claimed as an embodiment of pathos, might not the old seer from the same pediment find a place both here and in the list (238) of great renderings of the old body?—'I Tiresias, old man with wrinkled dugs, Perceived the scene and foretold the rest.' 219 ff. and note on 386: the idea that the Laocöon might be a first-century copy of a second-century bronze is ingenious and seductive. 275: the Victories in the spandrels of Roman triumphal arches are normally clad, but occasionally naked, when they approximate closely to a Nereid type. The finest surviving examples are from the arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis, but there are others, and it is possible that Ghiberti's Eve (277 and pl. 228) derives from such rather than directly from a Nereid. 284: adaptation of Nereid types to Europa is found in antiquity (e.g. Reinach, *Rep. de Peinture*, 12 ff.). 312: the desirability of the Gothic nude is also illustrated by Villon: 'Ces gentes espauls menues, Ces bras longs et ces mains traictisses, Petiz tetins, hanches charnuës', etc., might have been written to describe Memline's Eve or Meit's Judith. Incidentally I cannot accept that Rodin's *Vieille Hâutelière*, moving as that is, was 'conceived in a graver spirit' (330) than Villon's in those splendid and terrible verses. But I am trespassing. I should like to take up more points, on both sides of the fence, but these will perhaps indicate how the author, while never losing sight of his theme, contrives to 'load every rift with ore'.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

PLOMMER (H.) *Ancient and Classical Architecture* [Simpson's History of Architectural Development, Vol. I]. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956. Pp. xxii+384, with 24 plates and 121 line illustrations. 35s.

When the first volume of Simpson's *History of Architectural Development* was published in 1905 it was well received in architectural journals but it had a rather chilly reception in these pages. Simpson was not a specialist in Classical Studies, but as Professor of Architecture at U.C.L. he was qualified to write a general book on architectural history. His work was lucid, methodical, informative and, on the whole, accurate, and the terse note which the *JHS* accorded the first volume may, perhaps, have been a little unfair.

Mr. Plommer, to whom has fallen the task of revising the ancient and classical chapters of Simpson's book and bringing them up to date, is a classical scholar of note and it has probably been his ambition to make the book as acceptable to classical students as it formerly was to architects. In doing so he has found it necessary to re-write the old book to a large extent; and while he may have purged it of its faults it must also be admitted that some of the virtues have perished too.

The subject is divided into three parts: pre-Greek, Greek and post-Greek architecture. The first part contains chapters on Egyptian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Hittite and Greek Bronze Age architecture. The second and perhaps most valuable part of the book starts with a close analysis of the orders and then proceeds to trace the development of Greek architecture (or rather, of selected aspects of Greek architecture) from the seventh to the fourth centuries. The third part deals with the Hellenistic and Roman periods; emphasising the fundamental change in classical architecture which was brought about by the acceptance of the arch as a principal factor in the art of building, and the consequent relegation of the Greek orders to a decorative role.

Being a classical scholar Mr. Plommer has been able to illuminate his book with a great deal of important literary evidence which is too often ignored by students of architectural history. And in addition to his knowledge of classical literature Mr. Plommer has the advantage of having made an intense practical study of certain temples, and has thus been able to develop a remarkably sensitive perception of the amazing spirit which informs Greek architecture. The revised book profits greatly from this combination of abilities.

Unfortunately the illustration is disappointing. For instance, the analysis of the Doric and Ionic orders is admirable as far as the writing goes but the text deserves much fuller illustration. Indeed, the fact that it is not always easy to follow the argument is largely due to paucity of illustration. Again, the notes on pp. 184-5 about early entablatures would be much more informative if a sketch or two could have been included. And a few pages further on the

discussion of ornament in Greek temples really requires better illustration. For example, in considering the origin of acanthus-leaf decorations we ought to be able to compare early forms with late ones without having to refer to three or four other books in the process. Nor is the best use made of such illustration as there is. The sketches on page 3, for example, are barely intelligible without reference to the photographs from which they have been copied; and even so their pertinence is questionable. Again, there seems to be little point in devoting a whole page to the plan of the Hypostyle Hall at Delos if the much more significant cross-section is left out.

It is right to refer to books which are readily accessible to English students in preference to those which require access to large libraries and knowledge of foreign languages, but the policy can sometimes be carried too far. For instance, Kelsey's translation of Mau's *Pompeii* is given as the authority for the Stabian Baths although Mau's original version is more complete and better illustrated. Similarly it may be doubted whether the fact that Lanciani's fifty-year-old books on Roman buildings are published in English is good enough reason for preferring them to more modern authorities who write in Italian—such as Lugli. And would not Lugli supply a more detailed and perhaps even more accessible reference for the Temple of Vesta (p. 328) than the Touring Club guide-book?

But few books are faultless and this one has many good qualities. Mr. Plommer has bravely tried to instil new ideas into the somewhat hackneyed history of the development of Classical Architecture. If not all of his dogmatic pronouncements are unchallengeable, they are at any rate stimulating and the attentive reader will often fly to his bookcase to check some provocative assertion. Although far from being the book that Simpson would have written, it has merits of its own and, carefully read, should suggest new approaches to more than one problem in the History of Architectural Development.

G. U. S. CORBETT.

Corinth. Vol. XV, part 2. The Potters' Quarter: the Terracottas. By A. N. Stillwell. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952. Pp. xi+300, with 59 plates, 1 folding plan and 8 text figures. \$15.

The considerable delay in the appearance of this review is deeply regretted. Mrs. Stillwell's book is the second of three volumes covering the publication of the finds from a pottery- and terracotta-producing industrial area of archaic and classical date explored on the west edge of the ancient city of Corinth. (The first volume has already been reviewed in *JHS* lxxi. 264.) Although it also embraces the lamps, loom-weights, spindlewhorls and architectural terracottas from the site, this second part is primarily concerned with the terracotta figurines and reliefs found there. These apparently represent not only unsold or

damaged wares but also a great mass of votives dedicated at small shrines in the area. And in addition to these finished pieces there are also to be reckoned some 106 terracotta moulds published in *Corinth* xv, Part 1, and 3 more in this volume.

The volume of fresh material thus accruing is considerable. The chief contributions it has to make are technical, chronological and stylistic—this last consisting more especially in the fuller delineation of the classical Corinthian fabric.

It is in dealing with the first of these aspects, the technical one, that this publication shows its greatest shortcomings. Unjust as it undoubtedly is to evaluate these in the light of subsequent studies, a brief statement of the position may yet prove useful. The classification here presented is a typological one which makes for considerable inconvenience in the handling of the mould-made material. Thus the important series here assembled for the first time under Mould 13 also has examples entered under Classes viii, ix, xiii and xxi. Also, although the theory of derivative production (cf. *BSA* xlvii. 219 ff., J. H. and S. H. Young *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, *passim*) is recognised (e.g. see under xiv. 8), it can hardly be said that there has been any consistent practical application of it in the arrangement of these terracottas. Further, though actual examples of 'parallel moulds' (*BSA* xlvii. 223) themselves seem to have been found in these excavations, this aspect of mass-production seems to have eluded the authoress with the consequence that the number of her independent 'mould-types', as she terms them, at some points multiplies unnecessarily. In view of the unique technical interest of this material by reason of its find-circumstances, it is to be hoped that a reassessment of these matters may in due course be undertaken. It promises to be rewarding. Here let it suffice to raise but one further question. Is it possible, I wonder, that xix. 1 (which *does* look post-archaic) might have served as an archetype for the production of moulds?

A large part of this material is from dated contexts and for the first time it has been possible to apply on a large scale criteria other than stylistic ones to the dating of Corinthian terracottas. The results are interesting and at some points startling. However, several of these contexts seem to have accumulated over rather long periods or else to have suffered a measure of contamination. These limitations of certain of the archaic find-groups are fully recognised by the writer. But one is perhaps to be excused for wondering whether some of the fifth-century deposits do not also spread over somewhat greater periods than those allowed them. Thus xiv. 3 and the jointed nude dolls appear later than the first-half-fifth-century date assigned to Stelai Shrine A, whilst xix. 2 from the Aphrodite Deposit looks rather later than the early fifth century; likewise xiv. 20, the example from the series of xiv. 25, xvi. 3 and xvii. 44, all from the Circular South Shrine, seem hard to reconcile with a date in the third quarter of the fifth

century B.C. But the large and highly significant fourth-century deposits seem to stand unshaken. The publication of the pottery from these deposits, incidentally, is apparently to be expected in the third volume in this series. The coins are to be included in a further volume in the main series.

Of the earlier find-groups, the Aryballos Deposit of the last quarter of the seventh century is by far the most compact and important. The high date established by it for viii. 9, incidentally, offers further confirmation, if such be still needed, for a late seventh-century beginning for the stylistically akin Rhodian female-bust vases of the Gorgon Group. The context of viii. 25 raises the possibility of an early beginning for the series including the heads on the Cestnola pyxis in New York, but does not absolutely necessitate of itself a revision in the dating of the vase. In dealing with this earlier material the writer tempers the stratigraphical evidence, often somewhat broad, with a sound stylistic judgment. Thus it comes about that several important contributions are made, for example, to the classification of the pyxis-heads, incidentally bringing some of the unassigned Perachora pieces within the fold. The task thus ably begun can only be completed by a detailed mechanical analysis which the presence of derivative production and the wide and somewhat indiscriminate use of this material for dating archaic sculpture render imperative.

The second half of the sixth century is very meagrely represented, at least in the realm of new and original mould-made creations. The series already cited under Mould 13 must begin slightly earlier since it has three examples in a context whose lower limit is set *c.* 550 B.C. (p. 22). It is possible that the pieces known by Jenkins as his 'L.C.III Class', here represented by Mould 14, may be weak derivatives of this series, in which case it continued in production until much later. But in that case, and faced with a low dating for the 'korai' (here Classes x and xi) which now seems inescapable, we are left with only four nondescript heads, two of them perhaps of series already known on pyxides, and one rather fine one with which to span this vital period, viz. viii. 47, Mould 15, viii. 53, xiii. 4 and viii. 56. The last four cluster at the close of this period. To these we may possibly add two finer pieces, the protome, xii. 5, which may be of Corinthian origin, and the rider relief, xxii. 28, which looks to be one of the earlier Corinthian ventures in the field of cut-out reliefs and a piece of some importance.

The standing 'korai' already mentioned may make their bow around 500 B.C. and thereby institute something of a renaissance. But a far more startling fact emerges from the stratification in the amazing number of these that occur in contexts of the fourth century B.C. (e.g. x. 24, 26, 28, 32-37, Moulds 51-2). We find the same phenomenon with the seated variety which should not have come in so very much later (e.g. xi. 5, 8-10, Moulds 53-5) as well as with several of the fifth-century banqueters and squatting boys

to be discussed below and with other varieties (e.g. the protome, Mould 28, and the dolls, xx. 10 and 11). Their number, their good preservation and their individual find-circumstances all combine to show that we are not dealing simply with isolated earlier pieces out of context—an example such as xvii. 31 with a sixth-century head, a fifth-century body and a fourth-century hat should carry conviction on that score! Further, the vast majority of the later examples of such 'runs' are from very weak derivative moulds. Many such pieces of fifth-century origin occurred in the Shrine of the Double Stèle of the first half of the fourth century, some in Terracotta Factory deposits of the third quarter of the century. It seems clear that we have to deal with a derivative production that frequently continued unabated for a century and in some cases for a full century and a half. Such is not unparalleled in periods and centres of low creative activity or great conservatism. In classical times, however, we have a sufficient volume of objectively-dated material to serve as a control only in Rhodes, Boeotia and Attica. All three display derivative production, but none gives us evidence to suspect it on a scale or of a duration comparable with this. It would seem, then, that the classical Corinthian terracotta industry—or at least this part of the area engaged in it—reveals a remarkable lack of initiative.

Disturbing confirmation of this comes when we begin to reckon up the incidence of pieces derived mechanically from foreign sources. The authoress is most loath to recognise this aspect and at various points in citing pieces in other collections she over-emphasises the role of Corinthian exports by claiming, I believe without justification, a distinctive Boeotian buff clay and the cream clay of Ialysus for Corinthian. Such foreign derivatives are, however, extremely rare amongst the seventh- and sixth-century material—I can quote only viii. 5 which might possibly have parents in Sparta. In the fifth and fourth centuries the tale is far otherwise.

Let us turn first to the reclining banqueters (Class xiv). We may perhaps begin by excluding xiv. 1, despite the heavy appearance of the head, from a sixth-century date since it seems to be a reworking of a piece from a fifth-century mould. The first creative source seems clearly Rhodes, whose work from late archaic times on was copied first mechanically and then freely in Boeotia. Thus xiv. 2, 4, 9 and 12 seem of Rhodian derivation, possibly coming in via Boeotia (*cf.* the head of 2), whilst xiv. 13 and 14 (the last apparently with a local head) and Mould 59 may be taken directly from Boeotia. Many of the later pieces are such weak derivatives that there seems little hope of identifying their source, but it appears probable that Magna Graecia begins to bulk as well. A Tarantine derivation seems clear with xiv. 27 and 28 and possible, though quite uncertain, with xiv. 30 and 31. xiv. 32 has, as the writer recognises, a *palos* with applied decoration after the Tarantine fashion.

Again, the squatting boys, Class xvi, are all of

Rhodian extraction, xvi. 1 being a faithful copy, the remainder locally reworked. Also probably ultimately of Rhodian origin, though some of them may have arrived via Boeotia, seem viii. 35 (which is of early classical date), xviii. 1, 4, 6, 7, xix. 7 and xxx. 7 and 8. xv. 1 and 2, xviii. 2 and possibly xvii. 1, 17, 26 and 35 may have had their origins in Boeotia itself. xii. 6 (actually of early fifth-century date) is probably not an original Corinthian creation, being also known (in non-Corinthian clay) in Boeotia, Phocis and Ithaca. It is probably ultimately from North Greece and xii. 16 and 18 may possibly be intruders from a similar periphery. xvii. 8 and 20 and xix. 11 and 12 (and the related moulds) may be of Attic derivation and xvii. 22 and 23 might conceivably be of Argive extraction.

These are just suggestions, some of them doubtless erroneous, but they are far from exhaustive, particularly in the fourth century B.C. where the bounds between fabrics have largely yet to be drawn. The range of original creative terracotta work in Corinth in late archaic and classical times as evidenced here becomes thus somewhat restricted—a reflection perhaps with significance also to the localisation of metal-working schools, etc. But is this true of all Corinth, or only of the particular workshop area explored? Certainly, apart from run-of-the-mill local creations such as xvii. 3, 4, 29 and 30, the 'korai', the local varieties of protome and the cut-out reliefs, there are a few very striking pieces (e.g. xvii. 32 and 33, xxi. 7 and xxxvi. 5) which we have no reason as yet to suspect not to be original Corinthian creations.

A further important contribution made by this book consists in the closer study and dating of the hand-made figurines. The fully-regularised 'stylised' rendering of the human figure in which the face was indicated by a flap of clay folded down which gave a disc-like appearance when enclosed at the top by an applied 'petal' seems to make its appearance in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (e.g. on the horsemen xxiii. 20-22) which is rather surprisingly late. It continues throughout the remainder of the classical period. A not dissimilar formalisation occurs in classical Cyprus, but is probably of independent evolution. But the Corinthian ring-dancer groups with a flute-player in the centre (Class ii) seem definitely of Cypriot inspiration. On the subject of possible outside contacts it seems also worth remarking that the head, xiii. 6, looks hand-made and seems surprisingly close to some of the West Arcadian 'primitives' from the Mt. Lykaon area.

A remarkable predilection is shown for craftsman-like models of objects. The archaic carts (Class xxvii) are particularly interesting. Perhaps their upper-work was able to be removed and changed to suit different loads. The structural origin of the 'crossbar' wheel is probably to be sought in the solid wooden one, that of the spoked wheel with a broad projecting hub and narrow rim in the old chariot variety. An especially important document is the shrine model,

xxxiii. 1, portraying two offering tables, one of them garlanded (rather than festooned with bread), and bearing examples of the two commonest types of 'stylised' hand-made terracotta figurines. The sandals, xxxvi. 1-3, look true cobbler's work on lasts. Some of the outstanding unexplained objects might just conceivably have served as saggers, etc., in the kilns, but xxxvii. 62-4 seem rather bundles of faggots from the backs of whimsical classical mules.

Amongst the other material published in this volume are the first useful body of late seventh-century lamps and an early palmette antefix. It also transpires that the practice of stamping loomweights dates back at least as far as the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

The book itself is an excavation publication of a very high order. The plates are excellent, the text clear and, within its typological frame, well arranged. The presentation of so large and complex a body of stratified material in an accessible form has clearly been no easy task and Mrs. Stillwell's work makes a huge contribution to a constructive re-evaluation of Greek terracottas in general and Corinthian ones in particular.

R. V. NICHOLLS.

JUCKER (I.) *Der Gestus des Apokopein*. Ein Beitrag zur Gebärdensprache in der antiken Kunst. Zürich: Juris-Verlag, 1936. Pp. 136, with 48 illustrations. Sw. Fr. 14.80.

This is a careful and well-illustrated dissertation on the gesture of shading the eyes in ancient and mediaeval art (to the latter a brief section is devoted). The gesture is first found as part of a dance by satyrs of which J. does something to reconstruct the movements, and then simply as a gesture, particularly of satyrs and Pans wondering at an epiphany, but it is also used by heroes and even gods (particularly in the works of South-Italian painters of the fourth century). I add some notes on detail. Page 11 f., the 'owl' dance and the 'brow shading' dance are rightly distinguished; p. 14, I see no evidence in Aeschylus fr. 79N² for 'contempt for an ancient dance form, with which a new rival form is here contrasted', nor am I clear that satyrs from the middle of the fifth century onward make the gesture as distinct from adopting the dance posture (cf. in particular her pl. 14, Lucanian from Roccanova). The Aeschylus fragment contrasts the satyrs' former dances with their present gymnastic exercises (on the play see now B. Snell, *Herakles* 84 (1956), 1), and no further conclusion can be drawn from it. Page 21, it is not quite true to say that pictures of men in theatre costume begin in the fifth century, since we know earlier Comasts both in Attic and Corinthian, who are certainly men dressed up. I am not sure that this dance posture or gesture appears in the pictures of Corinthian padded dancers: it certainly appears on two Attic vases of 560-40 and 530-10, one with young men dressed as maenads and the other with Comasts (*Greek Theatre Production*, pl. 4, a and b). Page 36, an interesting fragment by

Polygnotos with Kalliope 'viewing' the death of Laios; Oidipous is armed with a club. Page 75, a Roman bronze of a negro with pierced lips is excellently explained as a fire-blower (described by Hero and Vitruvius), shading his eyes against the fire. Page 89, the woman on a Paestan lekythos (Berlin 4284; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, No. 277) is said to be gazing in astonishment at the king, but she seems rather to be tearing her hair in lamentation. The Oriental on the fragments from Corinth recently published by Sir John Beazley (*Hesperia* 24 (1955), pl. 85C) is really gazing in astonishment at the dead king rising from the pyre, but he seems to grasp his hat rather than shade his brows. Page 93, the turtle rider of Sele, is ingeniously explained as Herakles voyaging to Hades and spying Persephone. Page 105, the Perseus of the Vlasto oenochoe (*JHS* lxxv (1945), pl. 5) is rightly said to be spying; but he is more likely to be astounded at the sight of Andromeda than of the Gorgon, which J. suggests. Page 106, the gesture is interestingly followed into the illustrated Terence manuscripts and two examples are given, *Em.* 538, 543; the illustrations are said to derive from an archetype of the fourth century A.D., at which time J. believes that masks were no longer used, but she quotes no evidence for this strange statement. In spite of some errors this is a valuable work and it is good to have one gesture satisfactorily explained and documented.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

OSTROGORSKY (G.) *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by J. HUSSEY, Oxford: Blackwell, 1956. Pp. xxvii+548, with 3 maps, £4 4s.

This welcome work is a translation of the second German edition (Munich, 1952) which was reviewed in *JHS* lxxiii (1953), 192-4. The author has revised the text and brought the already very full bibliographical notes up to date. Comparison of Chapter iv, 'The Golden Age of the Byzantine Empire (843-1025)', with the German original showed only a few minor changes in the text, but thirty notes which were either entirely new or expanded, in a little under one hundred pages. Nothing of any importance published up to 1953 seems to have escaped Ostrogorsky's notice, and the many references to recent Russian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian publications are particularly useful.

The translator has carried out her daunting task with brilliance and elegance. Though she follows the German text closely and faithfully, one scarcely ever has the impression of reading a translation. There are none of the awkwardly inverted sentences, the off-key idioms, and the excess of abstraction, which are so often the mark of translation from the German. Only here and there in text and notes there still lurk a few relics of German orthography, e.g. Harun al Raschid on p. 173. In view of the quality of the translation, and, incidentally, of the price of the book, the publisher might well have had the maps redrawn.

As it is, they have been printed directly or indirectly from the original plates, with a German legend (*Konstantinopel, Grafschaft Kephallenia, Klein-Armenien*, etc.).

Paper and printing are good, and the book stays open easily for so thick a volume. A check of one hundred pages revealed only eight misprints.

Ostrogorsky's mastery of the sources, his penetration, breadth of vision, and clarity of exposition have won for his book a unique place in the library of the Byzantinist. Professor Hussey has rendered a notable service by making it accessible to history students, and to all interested in understanding the Middle Ages.¹

ROBERT BROWNING.

DÖLGER (F.) *Byzantinische Diplomatik*. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1956. Pp. xvi+419, with twenty-seven plates. DM 33.60.

This handsome volume of articles by Professor Franz Dölger is by way of a Festschrift to mark the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as Director of the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek studies in the University of Munich. Prof. Dölger's vast learning and industry (not least as Editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*) are well known, even to those who still regard Byzantium as being slightly non-U. His *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* (of which three parts have appeared), and his *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), based on an unrivalled knowledge of Byzantine diplomatic and palaeography, are already indispensable weapons in the armoury of every Byzantinist. This is the second collection of his shorter publications (the first appeared in 1953 under the title of *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt*), and contains twenty of his unique contributions to the study of Byzantine documentation, ranging from 1929 to 1954. Additions have been made as sparingly as possible to bring the earlier works up to date.

Among the subjects here discussed are the form and materials used in Byzantine chrysobulls, prostagmata, sigillia, etc.; the evidence of documents, coins, and inscriptions for the titles preferred by the Emperors and co-Emperors at different periods; the Treaty of the Egyptian Sultan Qalau'un with Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1281—one of the many astute moves in the diplomatic game ('die überaus schlaue und skrupellose Politik') of Michael VIII against Charles of Anjou. (That Michael's successors were obliged to be even more polite to the infidel appears from 'Ein Auslandsbrief des Kaisers Johannes VIII.

¹ Since this review was sent to the press an American edition has appeared, under the title George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated from the German by Joan Hussey, with a foreword by Peter Charanis, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J.; the maps have been redrawn and there are 35 plates.

vom Jahre 1447'); an original fragment (now in Basel) of the *Tomos* of 1351 confirming the orthodoxy of the Palamites (Hesychasts), and incidentally the more worldly triumph of John VI Kantakuzenos; and the Paris Papyrus of St. Denis 'as the oldest Crusading document' (as well as the earliest original Byzantine document of state), in which, some 250 years before the Crusades, the Emperor (Theophilos) proposed a united nations expedition against the infidel, to be led by himself as the head of the great family of the Christian *oikoumene*, the 'spiritual father' of the Carolingian monarchs. (Cf. also in *Byz. u. die Europ. Staatenwelt*, pp. 282-369; and G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order, Slaves and E. Europ. Review*, 35, No. 84 (1956)). Finally, forgeries. In a criticism of V. Mošin's publication of documents from Athos, Dölger warns against taking as genuine 'alles was auf einem ehrfürchtig und fromm gehüteten Stück Papier steht'. Property disputes among the monasteries of Athos often developed into 'bella diplomatica', waged with a panoply of title-deeds which could all too easily be falsified or doctored to substantiate an urgent claim. Dölger's articles 'Zu den Urkunden des Athosklosters Iviron' and 'Die Mühle von Chantax' point the way and the method of approach to the problem which the historian must face of weeding out the spurious from the authentic in the rich archives of Athos. But monks were not the only offenders, and the last of these essays treats of literary and documentary forgery in Byzantium in more general terms, as a fascinating chapter in the yet to be written 'Geschichte der menschlichen Täuschung'.

A comprehensive Index adds to the usefulness of the book, and the folding Plates are excellent (if somewhat awkward to unravel). The gathering together of these articles (many of them often cited but hitherto difficult of access) is a fine tribute from scholars who have cause to be grateful to Professor Dölger for his work in so many fields of Byzantine studies.

D. M. NICOL

Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Scripta, Vol. IX. The Akathistos Hymn. Introduced and transcribed by E. Wellesz. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957. Pp. xcii+108. Dan. Kr. 34.

Byzantine Liturgy appeals to many students, for whom Byzantine Music is as terrifying as a new kind of shorthand; and this work of a famous Viennese musician, now happily settled at Oxford, marks an important development in both departments. The Acathist Hymn has long been known in Birkbeck's English translation;¹ but a glance at his modest introduction will bring into strong relief the detailed and systematic account that Wellesz now supplies.

¹ Birkbeck, W. J., and Woodward, G. R., *The Acathist Hymn of the Holy Orthod. E. Church* (London, 1917). It is called *Akafist* in Russian.

In agreement with Dr. P. Maas, he assigns the main body of the hymn to St. Romanos (sixth century A.D.) leaving only the prelude to Patriarch Sergius (626 A.D.) the traditional author. Prof. Höeg, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the most important MS,² is inclined to disagree on this point. The Acathist has nearly the same form as the Narrative-Odes or *Contacia*³ of Romanos and his school. It consists of a prelude and twenty-four stanzas, on an alphabetical acrostich, the stanzas being alternately narrative-portions and salutations to the Virgin Mary, whose aid in the defence of Constantinople is recorded and invoked in the prelude. Since the later Middle Ages, the Acathist has been the only *Contacium* sung entire, while of the other narrative-odes, the preludes alone remain in use, together with the first stanza, called the *Oikos*.

The Acathist is unique in its ardent and copious diction and shows a considerable advance in Mariolatry, going perhaps beyond St. John of Damascus in this approach. The music in the MSS. is much later than the words. Wellesz has discovered a tiny tenth-century fragment; but the complete setting is in MSS. of the thirteenth century and later, where the style is extremely florid. This and the faint writing in some copies have greatly added to the toil from which Prof. Wellesz has triumphantly emerged. The music recurs, with variations, in all the stanzas; but, for the reader's convenience, it is given *in extenso*; and ears used to Plainsong ought, in the editor's opinion, to be able to enjoy it. (A Greek singer sang the prelude, as transcribed by Wellesz, to an audience at Dumbarton Oaks.) The deep impression which the chant made on the audience confirmed my belief that I had not allowed myself to be carried away by my occupation with the hymn. Indeed, when one hears the Akathistos, both words and music, one gets a similar impression of supreme art as when one sees for the first time the mosaics in Kahic Cami in Istanbul; and one can understand the unique place the hymn has held and still holds in the liturgy of the Eastern Church.

H. J. W. TILLYARD

Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, IV. Contacarium Ashburnhamense. Codex Bibl. Laurentianae Ashburnhamensis 64 phototypice depictus. Ed. C. Höeg. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956. Pp. 47, with 265 plates. Price not stated.

In the classical age of Byzantine Hymnody (from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century) there were three main collections of hymns with music—1. *Sticherarion*, containing the Proper Hymns for the fixed and movable feasts throughout the year,

² *Monumenta Musicae Byz., Main Series, Vol. 4, Contacarium Ashburnhamense*: Copenhagen, 1956.

³ Also spelt *Kontakion* or *Kondakion* (Russian *Kondak*). Wellesz has discussed the Acathist in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9 and 10, pp. 143-74, where an American translation is supplied.

together with some smaller series. The *Sticherarium* at Vienna (Codex D) has been published in facsimile as Vol. I of the *Mon. Mus. Byz.* 2. *Hirmologium*, giving the *Hirmi* or typical verses of the *Canons* (nine-ode hymns based on the Canticles and sung at Lauds). The *Hirmologium* at the Iberian Monastery on Mt. Athos (Codex H) has been published as Vol. II of the same series; and that at Grottaferrata (Codex G) as Vol. III. 3. *Contacarium*, containing the preludes and *oboi* (= stanza)—a name given to the first regular verse of a *Contacium* or Narrative Ode, the other verses following in the same metre. Only the famous *Acathest Hymn* is given *in extenso* with the music. It has been recently edited from this and other MSS. by Prof. Wellesz (see review on p. 176 above). The book now before us contains a facsimile of the *Contacarium* at Florence. The three collections differ not only in their contents but also in their rhythmical style. The *Canons* are severe and usually set only one musical note to a syllable, seldom allowing ornamental phrases. The *Proper Hymns* are less rigid and make a moderate use of melismatic adornment; but in the *Contacia* there is a riot of florid decoration; and one syllable may be drawn out to fill a whole page of musical setting. This practice is a token of declining taste, when the

sense of the words was sacrificed to the vanity of the singers. The original music of the Narrative Odes of St. Romanus and his school has not come down; but for practical reasons it must have been far less elaborate. Of the odes in this series two are well-known—the *Acathest Hymn* and the Christmas Ode *Ἡ Παρθένος ὀψευρε*, of which the modern melody is perhaps the original of the hymn-tune *Salamis*.

The MS. contains in all sixty *Contacia*, besides several less important collections. It was written at Grottaferrata in 1289 in a clumsy, coarse handwriting. There it remained until the Napoleonic wars, when it came into possession of Baron Gérando at Paris. In 1844 this man sold his collection; and our MS. passed eventually to Lord Ashburnham, who sold it, with others, to the Italian Government in 1884. It was then placed in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Professor Hœg's introduction shows the profound and varied learning, as well as the critical acumen that distinguishes all his work. The analytical tables, laboriously compiled, will be indispensable to palaeographers. We await with impatience his promised edition of the *Byzantine Musical Theorists* and also an album, long planned, to illustrate all stages of the musical notation.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

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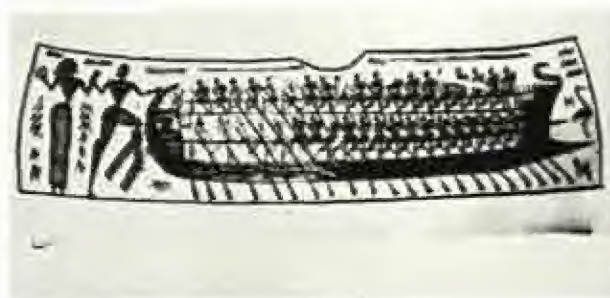
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